SPECIAL
College Survey Issue

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OCTOBER 8, 1963

NATIONAL REVIEW

A Journal of Fact and Opinion

An Inquiry Into The Religious And Political Attitudes At 12 American Colleges

GOD AND MAN AT

1. SARAH LAWRENCE 2. WILLIAMS 3. YALE 4. MARQUETTE 5. BOSTON UNIVERSITY 6. INDIANA
7. SOUTH CAROLINA 8. HOWARD 9. REED 10. DAVIDSON 11. BRANDEIS 12. STANFORD

Should Edgar Smith Be Executed?

D. G. M. COXE

Also In This Issue:

BUCKLEY ON COHN ◆ BURNHAM ON VIETNAM ◆ KIRK ON HOW TO EDUCATE PRESIDENTS ◆ WOOLDRIDGE ON THE NSA ◆ & (YUK!) HOW CASSIUS CLAY SAVED THE DAY FOR JFK

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NATIONAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

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NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly by National Review, Inc., at 163 Pratt St., Meriden, Conn. (second class postage paid at Meriden, Conn.). © National Review, Inc. 1963. All manuscripts, letters, subscription orders, changes of address and undeliverable copies should be sent to:

EDITORIAL AND CIRCULATION OFFICES
National Review
150 East 35th St., New York 16, N.Y.
Telephone ORegon 9-7330

RATES: $16.00 a year ($9.00 for the 36-page issues, and $7.00 for the 8-page issues published on the alternate weeks). In all cases, add $1.00 for Canada, $2.00 for other foreign subscriptions.

The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

In This Issue . . .

➔ We give the findings of an exhaustive inquiry into the political and religious attitudes of American students at twelve colleges and universities specially selected for cultural, social, economic, religious and regional variety. It is a fascinating revelation, the fruit of many months of work, infinitely suggestive, infinitely troubling. And it highlights, in an age when the search for education becomes more and more feverish, more and more obsessive, the diminishing concern over the purposes of education.

➔ Some months ago we promised to present a debate on the subject of capital punishment. Thus far we have defaulted, not because interest waned, but because the quality of the proffered contributions was not high enough to suit our morbid fancy. The story of Edgar Smith is not offered as a substitute, although it is a story which, because it is about a man who is condemned to die, forces one's thoughts on the subject of capital punishment. Indeed he will die, according to the prosecutor who so far has successfully fielded all of Smith's advances on the higher courts, and the sooner the better, as far as he is concerned. **Donald Coxe,** who wrote the story, is a lawyer, trained in Canada, who spent a year on the staff of NATIONAL REVIEW, and has just now, regrettably, returned to Toronto to resume the practice of law (he will serve as *NR*'s Canadian correspondent). He tells how Smith caught his eye, and what there is in the handling of his case of interest to the conservative's dogmatic insistence on the presumption of innocence. Read it, and weep if you will; for the dead girl especially, and for Smith if you feel the case against him has not been established beyond a reasonable doubt. But do not, Mr. Smith requests, address any letters to him. At the Death House, incoming mail from strangers is undelivered.

➔ **Lawrence Friedman,** bless him, tells what happened after Cassius Clay whispered in the ear of JFK how he might go about heightening tensions between Red China and Russia. . . . **Anthony Kerrigan,** the distinguished Spanish scholar and translator who lives in Mallorca, writes sadly about the death of a young poet there recently, who couldn't cope with all the Devils he knew. . . . **Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn** writes about the western Mediterranean, and the history one must know to understand what is going on there now . . . . **Russell Kirk,** who absolutely loathes Ian Fleming (which is—shh!—more than this department can manage to do), beats up JFK for confessing a weakness for him . . . . And **William Wooldridge,** a Harvard junior from Lynchburg, Virginia, bright as can be and already a fine writer, tells what happened at the sixteenth annual convention of the National Students Association.

➔ Books: **Stan Evans** on Victor Lasky's cornucopia of forbidden fruit, *JFK: The Man and The Myth.* Prof. **Guy Davenport,** now at U. of Ky. (we are running out of space), on 3 interesting novels. **Thos. Gephardt** of the *Cincinnati Enquirer* on the recently published book on China by former *NR* contributor, the late Forrest Davis, and Robert Hunter. And by **Ralph de Toledano,** a humdinger on Moussorgsky. ➔

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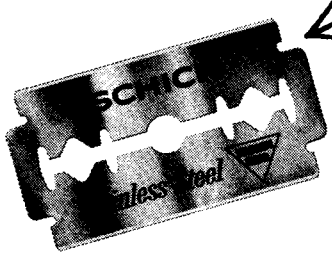

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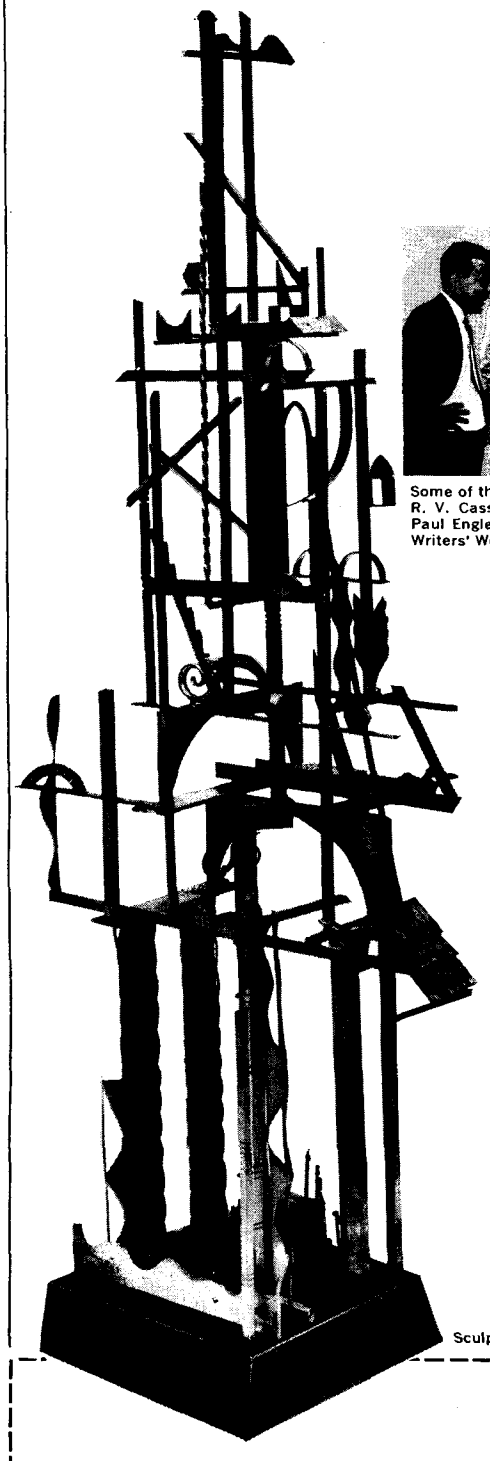

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The WEEK

● GETTING THE RIGHT MEN FOR THE RIGHT JOBS, DEPT.: "The Administration has announced a policy of hiring, where possible, mentally retarded persons for federal employment."—A. P.

● There is much speculation going on, within and outside the Goldwater camp, on the question whether Goldwater should, or will, gently dissociate himself from the organized Right. The argument by Goldwater's friends within the Right is: a Presidential candidate must not appear to be a factionalist, hence the unwisdom of organizational right-wing ties. The argument by Goldwater's enemies: considering that he appears to have the strongest chance of winning the Republican nomination, he must not be a sectarian candidate, and as greater responsibility looms (they predict), he will shed the ideologists and behave more responsibly. By coincidence, the arguments of the two camps converge into a single set of practical recommendations. And Goldwater is of course left with the problem: how to effect a dissociation without abandoning his own political position.

● The New York State Liquor Authority has devised a plan to exceed its authority. It all started at the end of Prohibition when New York passed the Moreland Act to promote and foster temperance by "imposing regulations upon the outlets through which alcohol is distributed to the consumer," that is, by taxing the hell out of liquor dealers. If this did not stop New Yorkers from drinking, a horde of zealous SLA people could at least alleviate their disappointments with the rake-off from the liquor dealers over whom they had Authority. Which gave SLA people a bad name and the wherewithal for many pleasant evenings in the corner tavern. Now: a New Plan, designed by the Moreland Act Commission to be grafted onto the deficient Moreland Act—regulate *individual drinkers*. Looking at foreign precedents—there is always a foreign precedent—the Commission finds that individuals could be regulated with the ration card approach, or a little note pinned to the shirt certifying that the bearer hasn't got stinking in public in the last sixty days, or something. So, if the individual's drinking license is up to date, and hasn't been punched, and the bartender's serving license is up to date, and hasn't been punched, and the owner's retail sales license is up to date, and hasn't been punched, the individual would be permitted to purchase and consume a drink. Is it worth it—the Commission, that is?

● The foreign aid program, more than anything else, disrupts the U.S. balance of payments, giving rise to the gold outflow and the pressure on the dollar. But the foreign aid program is defended as an instrument for halting the Communist drive for empire. Now, with the wheat deal, the Kennedy Administration is entering into an open campaign for trade with the Communists, no doubt in the hope of earning some Communist gold in order to support the dollar, in order to support the foreign aid program. All of which boils down to the fact that we'll help the Communist economies in order to be able to impede the Communists.

● The Establishment's Credentials Committee, meeting in closed session, has stamped its approval of one Holden Roberto, Mr. Holden Roberto if you please, President, if you please, of the Angolan government-in-exile. Subsequent to Mr. Roberto's assumption of the Presidency, it was universally deemed appropriate that he have a government to be President of, and one was invented instantly. In an interview reported in the *Times*, President Roberto pledged to "spare no effort to put an end to the bloodshed and to prevent a gulf of hatred from separating two peoples who are called upon to collaborate"—unless we "continue to meet with obtuseness and intransigence on the part of Portugal. . . ." His remarks were *not* translated as "I will call off my war of terror if Portugal gives up" and the interviewer, feeling the subject private and not of general concern, did not inquire about His Excellency's pro-Communism, nor about his plans for a Congo-based attack on a friend and ally of the United States of which the Establishment disapproves.

● Algerians voted 96 per cent for Ben Bella's one-party, one-man, one-religion (Islam) Constitution and 99.6 per cent for Ben Bella for President, but those figures don't begin to tell the story. There was no alternative to the Constitution, no alternative to Ben Bella. What the Algerians want is peace and jobs and stability and order; the choice they were given was Ben Bella or a new civil war. However, what should not be overlooked is that the Berber population of Algeria, a sizable non-Moslem minority, stayed away from the polls in droves not only in the Kabylia Mountains (60 miles from Algiers) which they control, but also in four major cities where they form a significant part of the population. So disenchanted are the Berbers and other dissident groups that Ferhat Abbas, the first President of the Provisional Government of Algeria whom Ben Bella unceremoniously booted from power a year ago, predicts that it will be only a matter of time before the "congolization" (*i.e.*, dismemberment) of Algeria begins!

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● Do people want welfarism? In London the highly regarded Institute of Economic Affairs noted that free-market producers continually refer to opinion surveys in order to produce what people want, but that governmental "welfare" programs are tailored to popular demand only "in the crudest way by reference to pressure groups, party conferences, or infrequent election campaigns." So the Institute had an opinion poll made, the first in Britain, to test popular feeling about state welfarism, and discovered "that a substantial proportion of the population—of all social classes, age groups and political sympathies—would be interested in the opportunity of contracting out of state welfare services." The "substantial proportion" appears to amount to more than half the population. Liberal politicians and economists on both sides of the Atlantic are struggling to ignore the news that their traditional assumptions about the popularity of state welfarism may be just plain wrong.

● Mr. David Renwick, an Englishman, formerly a UN administrative officer in Katanga, has written to the *London Daily Telegraph* to explain why it costs so much to keep the UN presence in the Congo. "Money drawn on the UN account in Congo francs is used for black-market transactions, doubled, and converted into hard currency for transfer abroad . . . and the UN will do nothing about this owing to political pressure from New York . . . [black-marketing of PX goods] by both civilian and military personnel . . . would account for about £500,000 per month. . . . The removal of equipment, furniture, refrigerators, etc. [from houses and buildings rented from Congolese for UN purposes], and the theft of cars can easily account for £6 million. I have seen boatloads of these items leaving Albertville for Kigoma (Tanganyika) en route for Dar-es-Salaam and Bombay. I tried to have one steamer searched. My efforts to check this export of loot were frustrated by orders from above."

● *It's an outrage,* said Ceylon, and immediately proposed a meeting of the Buddhist nations of the Far East to concert action against the Diem government in South Vietnam. Ceylon's record *vis-à-vis* its Christian minority (9.5 per cent): confiscation of 1,500 Christian schools; a 33 per cent tax on Christian church revenues; threats of murder and arson against Christian converts.

● *The Fascination of What's Difficult:* "The challenge of seeking to make the ideals of our law the reality of our people's lives will be as great in the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals as it has been in my present difficult and fascinating job as police commissioner of the City of Detroit," mused Mr. George Edwards upon being nominated to that lifetime judiciary post by President Kennedy last September 8. Any man who finds the policing of Detroit streets "challenging" and "fascinating" is not one of your simple breed of lawman, and indeed loyal ADAer Edwards is more famous in racially turbulent Detroit for vowing to "build bridges over the rivers of hate that flow through my city" than he is for keeping the place safe enough for its citizens to venture out, bridges or no bridges. STREETS UNSAFE, COUNCIL CHARGES was the headline in the *Detroit Free Press* on September 14, one week after the conscientious Commissioner had publicly meditated on his elevation to the second highest court in the land. *"Assaults, Vandalism Reported."* "Conditions are deplorable," said one Councilman. "We have more policemen than ever, and we have more assaults than New York City." Said another, "I am flooded [those rivers of hate?] with complaints about crime." And snapped a third, with perhaps more elemental justice than is dreamed of in Commissioner Edwards' philosophy: "We ought to let policemen be policemen and not sociologists."

● What publishing company is, in so many words, "committed to the goal of becoming the voice and conscience of the competitive enterprise system, which is the foundation of a progressive economy and a democratic way of life"? The Curtis Publishing Company—or so it stated in full-page ads throughout the country in August 1962. What national magazine currently features a story on Russia that is, to quote from the editors, "more convincing than a year's mouthings from all our superpatriots"? *Holiday,* a Curtis publication. In "A Word with Our Readers" *Holiday* relates how much nicer the "healthy turn" in Soviet-American affairs is than the "rancor, emotional thinking, rigid prejudice, and ignorance—on our part, of them; on their part, of us," and how we must beat down the "twin bogies [of] prejudice and ignorance," which have "precipitated a fight-fight, don't-talk-talk mentality in both America and Russia." Talk-talk, *Holiday* hopes to do, of course, via "the freest press in all the world"—though we can't be too "smug" about *that,* can we? "There is constant pressure here by a loud and rabid minority, including many in high places, who want no words said or written about Russia unless they are loaded with hate and provocation." *America,* meet *Russia*: shake hands and come out—shaking hands. *Holiday,* meet the *Curtis Publishing Company.*

● Listening day in day out to Moscow Radio is one of the more tedious responsibilities of the unsung soldiers of the Cold War. But every now and then they are rewarded with a synaesthetic dialectical jewel, *e.g.* last week's explanation of why Russians live longer than Westerners. Answer: they are not "exposed to the grave health hazards of baptism."

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Well, the Russians had better hang on to this world for dear life. They're going to have a hell of a time in the next.

Very Well, Then

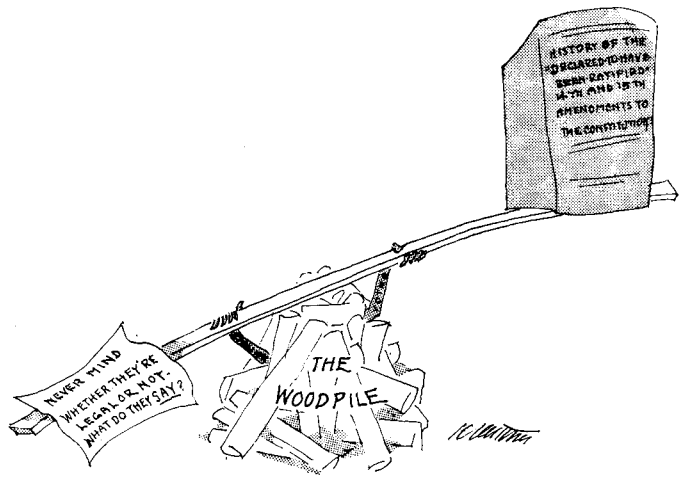
Mr. Nixon has said, quite truly, that we are entering into an era of grave peril during which we can expect that Russia will seek new advantages over us, cashing in, as she always does, on those synthetic lapses into good will which this time procreated a phony treaty governing nuclear testing in the atmosphere. Phony, we say, because the Soviet Union will break it at whatever moment she feels the least impulse to do so, and meanwhile will trap the steam it generated to chug us along our chosen route toward political suicide.

So we must watch, and hope, and pray, redoubling, as Mr. Nixon said, our concern; and hope for a sea-change in Washington's understanding of the Cold War, before we lose more and more of it by attrition, in the swamps of Laos, in the brush of Vietnam, on the plains of Yemen, at the gaming tables of the United Nations. The political yeomanry of Senators Russell, Thurmond and Goldwater during the prolonged debate gives us the vantage points from which to watch, and watch we shall, and force the President's eyes on what is happening there in the shadows, just as it was necessary to force his eyes on Cuba last October, when we succeeded in interrupting his monologue about the innocence of the Cuban armament long enough to get him to order the Russians to remove their middle-range ballistic missiles.

We owe Mr. Kennedy this much: a vote of gratitude for taking the matter to the Senate in the first instance. Granted the constitutional requirement, it is nevertheless ignored, time after time, by Presidents who have convinced themselves that they are really above the Constitution. When General Eisenhower decided on a test ban, he simply instituted it, unilaterally. At least President Kennedy went to the Senate and persuaded it to ratify his foolishness. How's that for finding a silver lining?

All Systems Gopak

The President's proposal of a joint U.S.-USSR lunar expedition implicitly invalidates, at one stroke, the entire rationale upon which our space policy has been developing ever since the National Aeronautics and Space Administration Act of 1958. That rationale is, or was, 1) that control of outer space is a prerequisite of world leadership and national security, 2) that said control is best assured by going to the moon and getting there first, and 3) that the prestige



Racial Imbalance

and scientific knowledge accruing therefrom would more than compensate for the neglect of a short-sighted, and unutterably provocative, military weapons-system in orbit about the earth.

Now it turns out that the Soviet Union has been asked aboard and that, in the name of peace and friendship, we mean to abandon the whole unilateral moon show, together with its presumably enabling concepts of prior control, security, competition and prestige. Surprise was registered—NASA is still in shock—that the President should so unexpectedly have reversed what he said just last July about a cooperative effort involving "an area which could affect our national security." But national security was never a priority of Project Apollo, which was supposed to get us to the moon at a cost of $20 to $40 billion in a race which we couldn't even be sure the Russians were in. The President's diplomatic flourish at the UN is clearly "the second step" of a progressive "rapprochement" with the USSR, of which the test-ban treaty is "the first step," and as such it is hailed by the *New York Times* and Walter Lippmann as "courageous," "imaginative," and "purifying."

Project Apollo, for months in deep appropriations trouble, looks ready to sink, and with it the last of whatever tinny illusions have been kept up in order to justify it. Now, suddenly, nothing seems to be left out there in the dark between us and Russia, except Sir Bernard Lovell.

Taxes and Confusion

The House Ways and Means Committee has reported out the new tax bill "to reduce individual and corporate income taxes," and what is it? For one thing, it's complexity piled on complexity: 125 pages of "general explanation," 216 supplementary pages of "technical explanation," and 50 pages of committee members'

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Focus on '64

◆ Nelson Rockefeller's latest attack on the Young Republicans has drawn an authoritative reply. Five former chairmen of the YR National Federation have issued a statement supporting the YRs' "youthful enthusiasm for principles," illustrated by a review of the Statement of Principles adopted by the YR Convention, and summing up: "Governor Rockefeller erred in indicating that the San Francisco Convention was ruled by the radical Right."

◆ There's more than meets the eye in the Illinois GOP gubernatorial primary fight. Charles Percy of Bell & Howell, recently Liberal, now sounding conservative, has gained some backing but is rated third. In a hot fight for the top spot are Hayes Robertson, the forthrightly pro-Goldwater Cook County chairman, and Secretary of State Charles Carpentier. In 1960 Carpentier won by 384,916 even while Nixon was losing Illinois by 8,858—something that doesn't happen, say Illinois pros, without "a visit to City Hall." What doesn't meet the eye: if Carpentier is nominated (thanks to Percy having cozened some conservative support away from Robertson), and if he makes the "visit," he might win the governorship, but Goldwater might still lose Illinois.

◆ Goldwater organizations cropping up. The Draft-Goldwater chairmen have been officially announced in Maryland, Alabama, Mississippi. The Senator has picked an advisory committee in California, headed by former Senator William Knowland. The Goldwater-oriented GOP Citizens Committee in Connecticut is beginning to get a hearing with the state party. National Draft Goldwater Committee has announced the formation of Youth for Goldwater, headed by James Harff and Carol Bauman, to set up campus Goldwater clubs this fall. In Pennsylvania the Goldwater effort will come to the surface right after the November elections and will include, in western Pennsylvania, some of the biggest names in the state. In New York the Conservative Party has entered candidates in ten counties for the November elections, in order to flex its pro-Goldwater muscle for 1964.

◆ Rocky's man in New Hampshire will be former governor Hugh Gregg, a two-time loser in recent GOP primaries. The Goldwater effort will be headed by Senator Norris Cotton, who hasn't lost a race in twenty years.

◆ An inside operation? Atheneum is publishing in paperback (95¢) Rocky's 1962 lectures, *The Future of Federalism*. Few paperbacks justify a promotion campaign, and Atheneum is owned by Democrats—so it's cause for wonder that *this* paperback will enjoy a $40,000 ad campaign in major newspapers and magazines, coast to coast.

◆ The Connecticut GOP hated to say so, but there was a deficit, and the $100-a-plate dinner for Liberal N.Y. Rep. John Lindsay had been a dud, and there was only one man the Finance Committee could think of. So Connecticut Liberal GOP leader Searle Pinney has invited Senator Goldwater to come and help—"any time."

◆ The *Miami Herald* reports a poll of registered Democrats in 40 Florida counties on Who Do You Think Will Win in '64, and: 35 per cent think Kennedy will win, 28 per cent think Goldwater will, 13.5 per cent think Smathers, 7 per cent Nixon, 3.5 per cent Rockefeller, 1 per cent Scranton.

ROCKY: "The trouble with Goldwater is he's only a regional candidate."
Goldwater Territory
Rockefeller Territory
William F. Richenbacher

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comments, including the dissenting statement of nine Republicans (Byrnes, Curtis, Knox, Utt, Betts, Alger, Derounian, Schneebeli, Collier).

These estimable gentlemen have joined in a dissent that can only be termed a partisan attack on the Kennedy Administration and the Democratic Party, mainly on the grounds that the Democrats are hereby introducing the concept of deficit finance and ever-higher federal budgets. But deficit finance has been the rule in Washington for thirty years, and budget-cutting has occurred most significantly only after periods of war. And what end is served by accusing Kennedy of raising the debt $20 billion when the debt rose $30 billion under Eisenhower?

As for the ever-higher federal budgets, every President since Hoover stands accused of furthering the notion that federal spending must inevitably rise, and none of them has consistently propagandized in favor of a withering away of Washington. The White House, over the years, has contributed to the general opinion that federal spending is a cure-all: but that is very far indeed from saying that the White House, under one party or another, has *caused* the rise in federal spending. The House of Representatives has exclusive power to fashion the tax and appropriation bills; and if the White House has made it politically difficult for the Congress to act responsibly, the blame must attach as much to the wrongheadedness of the White House as to the weakness of the Congress.

There's a lot of good work in the Republican dissent (see the argument that this tax bill won't alleviate unemployment), but its general meaning is this: that there'll be a partisan fight on the idea of hinging the tax bill to a formal resolve to halt the rise in federal spending, that the tax cut will be delayed at least a year, and that the GOP will try to wangle both a tax cut and a victory for fiscal sanity before the 1964 elections.

Well, we're not against sanity, and not against the GOP for that matter. But the Congress should be reminded that a lot of citizens are weary of taxes spent in waste, and resentful of tax laws too voluminous and complex to be understood, and impatient with legislators, administrators, collectors, inspectors, auditors, tax-wisers. And those citizens may wonder why the Congress thinks it can go $300 billion into debt for every purpose under the sun *except* granting the most needed relief of all.

Target: Dick and Jane

The Reading Reform Foundation, a citizens' group for sensible pedagogy in kindergarten and grammar schools, maintains you cannot teach a child how to read a word if you don't teach him about the letters that make up the word he wants to read. The Foundation recently held an enlightening convention smack in the heart of Deweyite Manhattan, not sixty blocks from Teachers College, Seat of the Look-and-Say School of Non-Reading. Dr. Charles C. Walcutt, co-author of *Reading: Chaos and Cure,* spoke memorably against Reading for Meaning, and Dr. Arther S. Trace, author of *What Ivan Knows That Johnny Doesn't,* called urgently for a return to the phonetic system.

Dr. Walcutt: "Forty or so years ago the reading theorists decided erroneously that rapid adult readers, who take in from four to six words at a single 'fixation' of the eye, must see these words as total shapes, *i.e.,* as outlines or silhouettes. So they undertook to begin reading instruction by teaching whole words before they taught letters and before they had taught that letters are symbols of sounds. Thus, instead of teaching that a printed word is a left-to-right representation of a sound, they taught, at first, that it was a symbol of meaning. This attempt to attach meaning directly to the total configuration of the printed word is at the bottom of all our reading problems. When a child sees the word 'bowl,' looks at the picture, and says 'dish,' he is praised for 'reading the meaning.' "

Dr. Trace: "The 'progressive' philosophy of reading instruction can best be understood in terms of a term I have chosen for it: Progressive Retardation. . . . Our reading mess is similar to the plight of the Kansas farmer who, surveying the desolation of his homestead following a tornado, remarked that 'There ain't much left, but at least it's all ours.' Nowhere else but in the United States is reading taught by the Dick-and-Jane method. . . . Jefferson, Webster, Franklin, and Lincoln are barred from modern American readers because they introduce too many new words and don't repeat them often enough. When Dick and Jane are awarded a citation by the National Education Association, as the McGuffey readers were at the beginning of this century, then I shall know that we are lost."

Best of luck to President Watson Washburn and the Reading Reform Foundation in their desperate attempt to avert the dawning of that day. Their address: 36 West 44th Street, New York 36.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

DER ALTE STEPS DOWN
by Alistair Horne

A Look at Mesdames McCarthy (Mary), Spark (Muriel), Mitford (Jessica)
by Messrs. Chamberlain (John), Waugh (Auberon), Russell (Francis)

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Belles Lettres in Proletopia

Belles Lettres in the Workers' Paradise (a poem in a recent issue of the Worker *by Walter Lowenfels)*

Humpty Dumpty
sat on a bomb—
said I'll shoot
the spots off the sun.

And that will shake
Africa again
back once more
to the Garden of Eden.

And that will lift me
from under the heap
on top of the beautiful
84-hour week.

Last Time We Saw You You Were Just a Little Baby!

"We are not living in a free enterprise system, but rather under a controlled economy . . . In five years, if we are not hampered by new restrictions and we can get adequate funds from Congress, we'll be handling 90 per cent of the business. . . ."

Thus spoke Bernard Teets, director of the Colorado Division of the U.S. Employment Service, and the "business" he is discussing is the business of job locating throughout the country. His agency has been brilliantly analyzed in a speech on the floor of the House by Representative Frank Bow (R., O.).

USES was set up in 1933 when one out of every four workers was jobless. It was conceived by Congress as an agency to find jobs for the unemployed. In the succeeding thirty years, USES's empire-builders have found themselves spending more and more of their time (60 per cent) fussing over people already at work but looking for different, and better work. USES has even begun providing separate offices for the employed, to spare them the degradation of mixing with the unemployed in a common waiting room. Its personnel are increasing at a formidable rate. More than 4,000 employees joined the staff last year, although no more persons were placed than nine years ago. In its zeal to cultivate tony clients, USES has even taken to finding personnel to fill foreign positions. Mr. Bow discovered a USES ad calling for an open-hearth superintendent for Argentina (at $23,700 per), and a job analyst willing to relocate in Tanganyika.

USES's patronage has to do with its not charging a fee, which privately run employment agencies need, of course, to do. The taxpayers (ironically, including the private agencies and the companies that lose employees to competitors) pick up the tab. But it can't be said that USES seeks a monopoly in the job-locating business. All it wants is 90 per cent of the traffic. If Congress will provide the funds. Which is where Frank Bow comes in.

O'er the Ramparts We Watch

(Always Considering the Press of Other Business)

May 1, 1963. A panel discussion, under the auspices of CBS, wherein *NR*'s William Rusher, and United States Senate's Clifford Case agree that all good men willing to come to the aid of the individual during a period when the Federal Government is accumulating more and more power, should do something about the prurience of the Commerce Department, whose Census Bureau has been asking such questions as how many toilets does said individual own. Said *NR*'s Rusher to USS's Case, you will recall that *NR* Editor William Rickenbacker was prosecuted by the government for refusing to complete the Blue Form of the Census Bureau, asking him that and other impertinent questions, none of which had anything to do with the constitutional duty of Congress to conduct a decennial census. Replied the Defender of Individual Liberties: Sounds outrageous to me, and something should be done about it. Answered WAR: Why then do you not co-sponsor a bill denying the Commerce Department the authority to ask such questions? Quoth the Defender of the Individual: Let me see the bill—you can count on me.

May 22. WAR to CC: "Such a bill [as you expressed interest in] (HR 6386) has now been introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman Ashbrook of Ohio. I enclose a copy herewith, and respectfully inquire whether you would be willing to introduce a similar bill in the Senate? . . ."

May 27. CC to WAR: "It was good of you to send this bill to me and I shall look into the matter as soon as possible with a view to possible co-sponsorship in the Senate. . . ."

June 10. WAR to CC: "Since nearly a month has passed, I was wondering whether you had yet been able to reach a decision in this connection? . . ."

July 2. CC to WAR: ". . . I am sorry to say that other matters to which I have been obliged to assign priority have kept my attention away from HR 6386. I hope before too long I will be able to get at it."

August 2. WAR to CC: "A further month has now gone by since your letter of July 2nd, in response to mine of June 20th, which in turn referred to HR 6386, which I sent to you under date of May 22. I hope you will forgive me for wondering whether you have come to any conclusion considering possible co-sponsorship of this bill in the Senate?"

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Mid-September . . . No answer from the Defender of the Individual. May's television audience, meanwhile, went to bed with that snug feeling that The Defender is in there hustling for them. Question: Are there, perhaps, any constituents of Senator Case around who might want to write him to ask how many toilets he has? And in which one—the Census Department's next questionnaire might well want to know—he flushes away correspondence from those people whose concern for individual rights he has sympathy with when the television lights are turned on him?

Notes and Asides

On September 20, a singularly beautiful fall day in New York, a number of young Americans, many of them looking as if they had sworn, pending their complete liberation, a total boycott on soap and water, went over to the UN to demonstrate. One of them struck a police captain, and was arrested. Other police cooperated by stopping traffic so that the group could move their demonstration to the 15th Precinct station on 35th Street, where the aggressor, a member of CORE, was being held, and next door to which, as it happens, NATIONAL REVIEW has its offices. For more than three hours, beginning about noon, the neighborhood heard and saw singing, chanting, speechifying, sitting-in, lying down, standing pat; and then when, along toward 4 o'clock, mounted police began, ever so gently, to nudge the horde up toward Lexington and down toward Third, a truly impressive coda of theatrics, including Actors' Studio tantrums, Group Theater invective ("Police brutality!" "Racist cops!" "Fascists!"), and Dalcrozian reeling, writhing, and fainting in coils. Two more of the serenaders were arrested, but the show was over. The young pickets had carried signs reading "Bombingham," "Remember [or was it "Revenge"?] Medgar Evars and Lumumba," and "Hitler 1933, Birmingham 1963." They had sung, "We Shall Overcome." They had chanted, over and over, "We want freedom now!"

It was our first direct exposure. If we had to guess, we'd say they were 20 per cent idealists, 40 per cent troublemakers, 10 per cent Commies, 30 per cent experience-tasters. Their case, after all, was not of the kind that attracts the idealistic nobility. The gravamen of their complaint was that the police had been so brutal ("Nazis!" "Racists!") as to arrest a man whose only offense was slugging a policeman. Sign of the times?—When the mounted policemen returned from having driven away the demonstrators, they were greeted, by those who had watched the proceedings from their windows, with applause and cheers.

For the Record

Democratic pros in the South, whose chief fear is that Goldwater will be nominated, torn: they don't know what stand to take on well-financed NAACP registration drive. NAACP hopes to register another 250,000 Negroes in deep South in time for Nov. 1964, in effort to cut into Goldwater boom. . . . Sen. Thruston Morton of Kentucky, often spoken of as a dark horse candidate, admitted the other day that Barry is way out (in front); that he "doesn't need many more [delegates] to obtain the nomination." . . . Latest bumper sticker to hit Colorado: "What this country needs is another ex-President." (Our three present ex's, incidentally, cost the nation roughly $300,000 a year in pensions and office expenses.)

Well-authenticated reports indicate that over 30 Chinese Communist technicians, including 20 nuclear scientists, returned to Peking from Moscow early in September. Taiwan sources say of four atomic reactors on Chinese soil only one, in Peking, is operating because of withdrawal of Soviet aid and technicians. . . . Hush-hush negotiations underway for transfer of some of Nasser's German rocket experts to Indonesia as additional threat to incubating Malaysia. . . . Sign of deteriorating U.S.-Philippine relations (recently exacerbated by stubborn Fulbright opposition to war damage claims): Manila has terminated seventeen-year agreement under which U.S. represented Philippine interests in countries with which Manila has no diplomatic relations. . . . Sen. William Proxmire (D., Wis.) (like Sen. Henry Jackson, increasingly on the outs with the Administration) coming out hard against proposed wheat deal with Soviet Union. In view of decline in Russian farm production this year, "now is precisely the time not to bolster their weakened position," he says.

Politics and Literature: Memoirs of Dr. Stephen Ward to be published in France; they've been banned in England. . . . Henry IV, Part One, as now being performed in Paris, has been turned into anti-war, anti-feudal and anti-Church play. . . . Sardinia refusing to permit in German version (mit pix) of Boccaccio's Decameron (original publication c. 1353) as "too pornographic."

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From Washington Straight

CATO

What doubts remained on Capitol Hill, about whether the Administration is planning to enter into massive trade with the Soviet Union and its satellites, were banished by the sudden appearance of one of the largest flights of trial balloons yet seen in the Washington sky. Speculative stories on the subject popped out all over the place. Secretary of Commerce Luther Hodges coyly let it be understood that there was "much interest" in Administration circles in diverting a good supply of that pure Moscow gold into American business coffers; and the Canadian wheat deal looked for all the world like maneuvering to justify the U.S. getting its own feet wet.

Cato

The Administration's gauleiters have been playing a very obvious game with the business community lately. They persuaded a number of top corporate executives (most of them representing firms with substantial overseas trade and hence susceptible to the delicate persuasions of the State Department) to form a nuclear test-ban fan club and announce their support of the treaty in two-page ads throughout the press. Then the Ford Committee, which bent double in support of the President's tax bill, arrived conveniently on set just as congressional debate on the bill was beginning. It is now being said that some such businessmen's committee will convene in timely support of extensive trade with the Soviet bloc nations (after all, everybody else is making a buck at this sort of traffic, so why not us?).

The Administration has solid reasons for seeking virtually unrestricted commerce with the Communist nations. 1) Virgin markets, opened on a massive scale by multi-billion-dollar credits for the USSR to spend in the U.S., would jar the domestic economy out of its torpor, temporarily—but long enough to look good in the '64 election returns. 2) The Soviet Union desperately wants to do business with the U.S. Her economy has been spread thin keeping up with modern military hardware and rising demand for all manner of non-military goods; thus the purchase of highly sophisticated Western tooling and plant would give her breathing room, and perhaps the means for her own "great leap forward." Sensing how intense is the Soviet desire to trade with the U.S., the Administration believes it can be converted into dramatic Soviet concessions in the Cold War which could insure the re-election of John F. Kennedy in 1964. Unless Congress gets its back up and lowers the boom, full-blown U.S. commercial dealings with the enemy should be initiated by early next spring—or sooner.

Observers here, puzzling over the President's flirtation with sensible economics (more money in individuals' pockets via tax cuts), are finding explanations by the tubful. Some of these, of course, are fanciful, but one fascinating conjecture centers on the increase in the Social Security tax scheduled for January 1, and in skyrocketing state and local taxes all over the country. The Administration, it is felt, aware that a drop in take-home pay among voters could cause widespread retaliation at the polls, is trying frantically to stem the inroads of the other taxes by trimming the federal income tax.

That additional $450 million sugarplum for the wildest spender of them all, the Area Redevelopment Administration, just won't stay dead. The levy, defeated once in the House this year, is presently bottled up in the House Rules Committee, where every attempt to dislodge it, using the Cotton Bill as both carrot and stick, has failed. But the word has gotten around that Administration pressures on Rules Chairman Howard Smith (D., Va.) are so great he may have to release the bill to the floor soon. And House insiders say the measure will probably pass the second time around, pumping nearly half a billion dollars into (if past precedent holds) a Democratic spend-and-elect kitty.

The Democratic Party has apparently made up its mind that Barry Goldwater will be the GOP nominee in 1964, and is already acting on that assumption. The campaign actually started when the decision was reached several months ago to take overt anti-Goldwater action at the Young Republican National Federation convention in San Francisco. Lending credence to this story were reports that a pro-Administration reporter for an important East Coast newspaper was seen provoking a number of wide-eyed innocents on the scene in San Francisco into behavior which supported the charges the same reporter was later to make, that extremists had taken over the convention. Watch for extensions of this tactic in the months to come.

There's no doubt that unscrupulous members of the press can whip up good copy with a little deft agitation. Veteran newsmen on the Hill were shocked by the behavior of a woman reporter during the stormy two-day hearings before the House Committee on Un-American Activities investigating the "student" trip to Cuba. The reporter, whose diatribes against all things conservative have been epic, went far out of her way to goad some of the wilder "student" spectators into tantrums and violence. On the second day of the hearings, she remained outside the House Office Building and approached demonstrators who had been ejected from the galleries with saccharine expressions of sympathy, and a few suggestions of what newsworthy trouble they could make to restore their spirits. Her activities were observed by several congressmen who say they will file a formal complaint with her publisher.

The same reporter did her best to annoy Major Gen. Walker at the Stennis hearings on muzzling the military. The result that time was the famous wild punch Walker threw —at her male companion.

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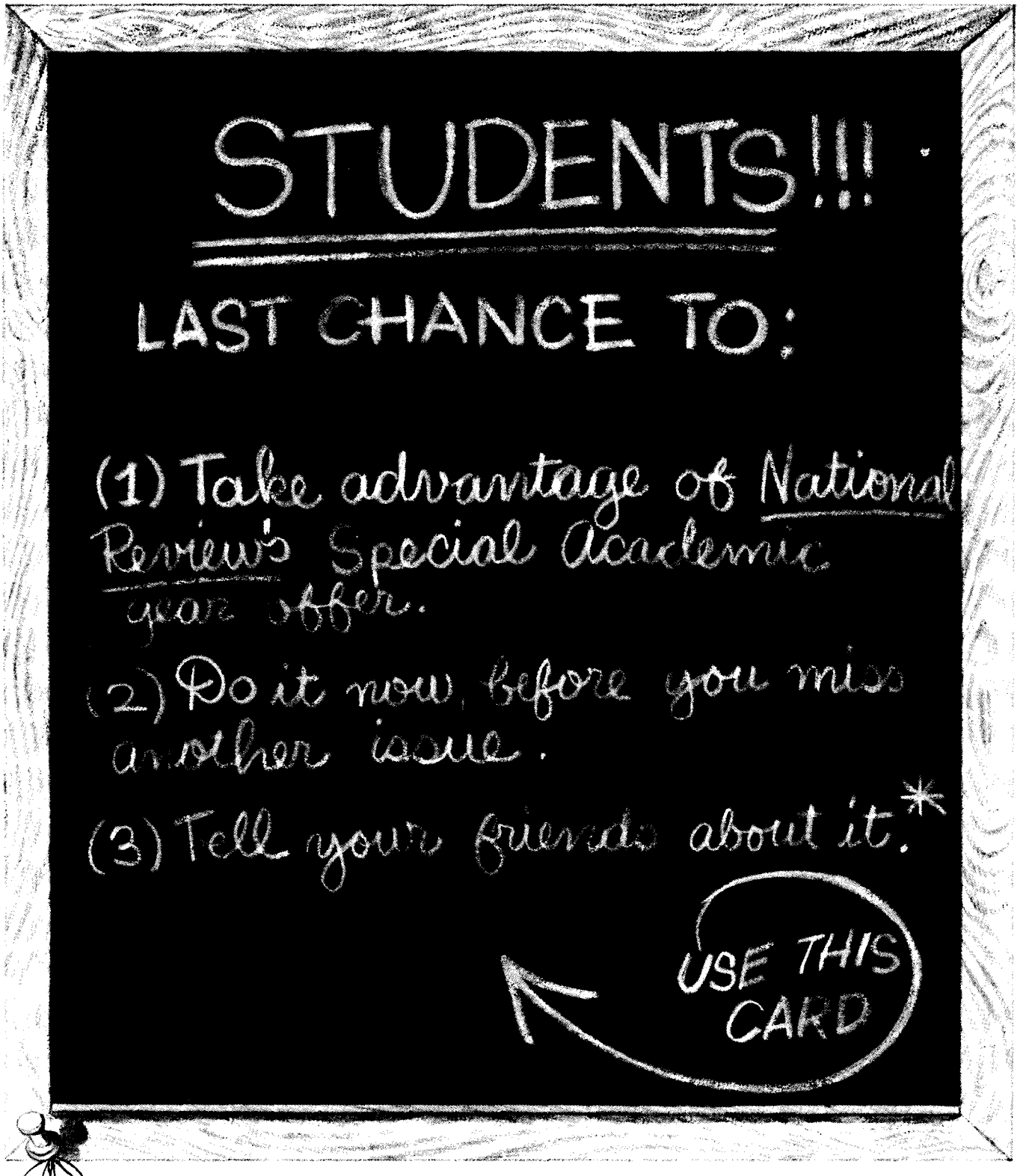
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ON THE RIGHT

Here We Go Again

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

The summer before he died, George Sokolsky telephoned to Roy Cohn and his associate Thomas Bolan, summoning them instantly to his summer place in Otis, Massachusetts. Mr. Sokolsky was an imperious man, but he was not given to calling two very busy men to travel 150 miles out of the metropolitan bustle in which they thrive, merely because he felt the need for a command performance. And so they set out, Cohn, at 35, weather-beaten with notoriety, wealth, corporate and personal intrigue; Bolan, 38, also a lawyer, tough, idealistic, a successful sports promoter (Patterson-Ingo, Patterson-Liston), a devoted anti-Communist conservative. They went to hear what the aging autocrat had to say. Their knowledge of him, and his ways, went back many years. It was Sokolsky who had recommended Cohn to Senator McCarthy as his assistant; and it was while both young men were working for McCarthy that Roy Cohn, and Robert Kennedy, developed a passionate mutual antipathy.

Buckley

What Sokolsky had to say was this: that the day before he had learned, on undeniable authority, that Robert Kennedy, our Attorney General, had been overheard to vow that there were two personal ambitions he hoped to fulfill before leaving office, namely to put Jimmy Hoffa and Roy Cohn behind bars. Hoffa, as we know, has spent most of his time in recent months in court; and now, one year later, Cohn has been indicted.

This column is not about who does and who doesn't belong in jail, Hoffa, Cohn, or Kennedy. Let us assume they all belong out of jail, at least until a jury of their peers is otherwise convinced, or until our laws become less lax. It is, rather, a reflection on a matter of more general concern, the awesomness of the power that tends to accumulate in the high office of our centrifugalized republic. Cohn, after all, has not yet been tried, and it is proper to speak of him as innocent. (I happen to believe, on the basis of the considerable evidence I have examined, that a jury will in due course confirm his innocence.) The point here is that there seems to be little doubt that he has been subjected to a very special kind of harassment that almost surely resulted from an inordinate appetite, on the part of very powerful men, for his controversial scalp.

Cohn has itemized eleven instances of the kind of thing he has had to put up with. In its anxiety to get him, the U.S. Attorney's office in New York, which three weeks ago persuaded a grand jury to indict him for perjury and conspiracy to obstruct justice in connection thereto, allegedly a) patronized professional bounty hunters; b) offered felons forgiveness if they would give evidence —presumably whether true or false— against Cohn; c) offered to go easy on defendants if they would "cooperate" against him; d) leaked notices to the press implicating Cohn with multifarious venalities; and e) constipated his professional life by subpoenaing his working records over a great stretch of time—even to the point of exquisite irony! "As a part of the program of harassment," Cohn elucidates, "the Internal Revenue Service was ordered in to join the chase. However, since my records had been seized by Mr. Morgenthau [the U.S. Attorney in New York who is in charge of Cohn's prosecution, and the proximate agent of his alleged persecution], I could not supply them. The confusion that developed from these rival attempts to get something on me resulted in the Internal Revenue Service actually serving a subpoena on June 19, 1963 on Mr. Morgenthau's office to get my records."

Former Judge Robert Morris, who is president of an organization known as The Defenders of American Liberties—a sort of conservative-oriented American Civil Liberties Union—has written to Mr. Morgenthau to suggest that Mr. Cohn's charges against the Justice Department be seriously considered. The public confidence in the processes of justice cannot, Mr. Morris points out, stand the leveling of such charges as Cohn's without an impressive rebuttal to them, and a subsequent adjudication. But Mr. Morgenthau apparently does not believe in answering pestiferous inquiries concerning his conduct of the Cohn case. He has thus far treated Mr. Morris the same way he treated Cohn's persistent efforts over the preceding months to get Morgenthau to explain himself, and the extraordinary efforts of his juniors to wrest an indictment out of the testimony of confessed felons. With silence.

But Mr. Morris's suggestion for an investigation of the behavior of the Justice Department did not fall everywhere on ears as deaf as Mr. Morgenthau's. Senator Eastland, Chairman of the Judiciary Committee of Congress, is quietly considering them, with the view to activating a subcommittee to make a formal investigation. And if that happens, God help us, there we'll be again, with 45 consecutive days of TV, a Senate investigating committee, Roy Cohn, Bobby Kennedy, and the Executive Branch —a sobering prospect. But one we should nevertheless be prepared to put up with, if only to serve notice on Attorney General Trujillo down in Washington that it is not yet a crime, under the Penal Code, merely to displease a member of America's royal family.

If you don't hear from me next issue, come and get me!

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The Strange Case of Edgar Smith

A girl is murdered—no doubt about that. Edgar Smith is condemned to die because he did it—but there *is* some doubt about that, says a young lawyer on *NR*'s staff

D. G. M. COXE

One day, soon after joining the staff of NATIONAL REVIEW, I came upon a clipping—one of scores sent in to us by readers as having, possibly, some remote interest for us—which gave the details of a day in the life of Edgar Smith Jr., #34837 D.H. in the State Prison at Trenton, New Jersey, where he had lived the last five of his 29 years under sentence of death for murder in the first degree. Newspaper clippings about individual murders or murderers don't often get sent to NATIONAL REVIEW, where our concern tends to be for macrocosmic crime; but Edgar Smith was no ordinary criminal. The reporter asked him how he spent his leisure time. "In reading," the prisoner replied. "In reading what?" the reporter pursued. "In reading all kinds of things," Smith responded. "I have developed political interests, and I very much enjoyed Senator Goldwater's *Conscience of a Conservative* and regularly read NATIONAL REVIEW."

I passed the clipping around. The prisoner, whose residence in the Death House had already broken the state record, was, like Caryl Chessman, supervising his own legal strategy, carrying on a complex series of legal maneuvers—successfully. After all, he was reading NATIONAL REVIEW in this world, cultivating, perhaps, a reading habit suitable to the next: but one by one the avenues of escape were closing off. And soon, soon after these words appear, the last avenue of escape being closed, he is to die, in expiation of one of the ghastliest crimes I have ever heard of, leaving only the question, which assaults me after days and weeks and months of meditation—did he in fact kill the girl? I don't know. He may have. I know only this much. That knowing what I now do about the case and about Edgar Smith, I would not, if I had been a member of that jury, have voted to execute him for first degree murder, guilty beyond any reasonable doubt. Not even if he were a reader of the *New Republic*.

Initial Contact

I wrote Smith, having ascertained he was not a subscriber, to tell him we had seen the newspaper story, and would give him a complimentary subscription. He replied immediately. "I had been reading the copy of NATIONAL REVIEW belonging to the chaplain. Unfortunately, he was recently transferred and it is no longer possible for me to secure your publication. Because of this, your offer of a complimentary subscription is especially welcome. . . ."

Smith's letters were cool, restrained, composed. My curiosity heightened. Never once did he suggest we help him, or even that we would want to help him. Convicts who communicate with the press tend to be a drearily self-righteous lot, who stress the prejudice of the judges, the malevolence of prosecutors, and their own incandescent chastity. Smith was not that way at all. He writes as though his innocence is simply taken for granted, leaving only the problem of how to cope with the machinery of justice, in which he happened to get caught, as other innocent men have been caught before, on account of its renowned imperfections.

"I realize you are very busy and for this reason I appreciate even more the thoughtfulness and generosity of your letter. I regret I am in a position to offer no more in return but my best wishes and, with the approbation of the Supreme Court, my prayers for the success of NATIONAL REVIEW."

Again: "I hope you will forgive the length of this letter. I am one of those who can write endlessly. My mother jokes that I am dangerous when I get a pen in my hands. We are not allowed a typewriter, so you will have to forgive my miserable penmanship. There is no excuse for my poor English; I left high school to join the Marines during the 'Korean Police Action.'"

Asked for information about his case, Smith suggested I talk with Andrew Nicol, a private detective. A lunch date was arranged with several NATIONAL REVIEW editors.

Mr. Nicol told us he had been retained to investigate the death of a fifteen-year-old schoolgirl named Vickie Zielinski, who had been found in a sand pit near her home in Ramsey, New Jersey, on March 5, 1957, her skull bashed open. In the succeeding six years he has never wavered in his belief that Smith, for whom he has worked without fee—even now, from time to time, he goes hunting after a lead—is innocent.

He told us that Smith had given the police a detailed account of his own actions on the night of the murder. Smith admitted picking up Vickie in a borowed car, driving her to the sand pit, hitting her there with his hand, and running somewhere. He told the police the next thing he remembered for certain was getting back into the car and driving away.

"What happened in that interval of time?" an editor asked.

"Smith said, 'Somebody turned the lights out,'" Nicol replied.

"A homicidal psychopath, perhaps, whose conscious mind blotted out the repugnant details of the murder?" I, the amateur psychologist, ventured.

"No," he said. "Smith is definitely not that. He was examined by psychiatrists. They found no mental imbalance. He's a bright young guy with a good record. Besides, he took a truth serum examination at his own request and, while under the influence of the drug, gave a full account of what he did that night. Mind you, what he said wasn't all of it the sort

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of thing a man would want to brag about, or win friends with; but he flatly denied killing the girl."

"Was that examination introduced in evidence at trial?" I asked.

"No, there's some sort of a rule of evidence against it. And then, when we asked for the tape recording of what Smith had said under the drugs, the police told us the tape had been, routinely, erased. All we have now is the doctor's notes; but they substantially back up Ed's story."

The lunch with Mr. Nicol was on September 4, 1962. In the twelve months since, the case has successively fascinated me, irritated me, plagued me—and now it haunts me. Delving into the story, I tried to see the principals. The judge who sentenced Smith, a florid, brusque man named Arthur O'Dea, refused me permission to visit Smith in the Death House—because he was not going to allow the press to "exploit" Smith, the way it had "exploited" Chessman. I appealed to the American Civil Liberties Union. Why, I asked, should a condemned man who has not even exhausted his rights of appeal be denied access to the press? The ACLU nibbled, but finally turned the case down, on the ground that they had too much else to do. I went back to the 1,100 pages of trial transcript, over and over again. I can now put my finger on many more unanswered problems in the case than I spotted last September. The jury's verdict was not clearly perverse, nor was the trial obviously rigged. There is much evidence against Smith. . . .

The State's Case

In his opening remarks to the jury, Guy Calissi, skilled chief prosecutor of Bergen County, outlined what the State intended to prove Edgar Smith had done. The State's theory of the case was that Smith had picked up Vickie, driven to the sand pit with her, tried to make love to her; that she had become frightened and had run away; that he had grabbed a baseball bat out of the back seat of the car, pursued her down the sand pit road and on to Fardale Avenue, hit her with the baseball bat, thrown it away, brought her back to the sand pit, carried her up a mound, and killed her with a fourteen-pound boulder. It took five days to introduce the evidence to back up this theory. On the afternoon of March 4, Smith went bowling with two friends, Charles Rockefeller and Joe Gilroy. While bowling, Smith injured his ankle, an injury that was to prove relevant. After the game, Smith asked Gilroy if he could borrow his car in order to fetch some kerosene for the stove in his trailer home. After Smith got the stove going, he promised, he would pick up Gilroy and they would have a few beers together. Gilroy agreed, and turned his car over to Smith.

At 8:20, Smith arrived at Secor's gas station to buy some kerosene. He filled a five-gallon can, talked to a man whose car was having ignition trouble, and left.

Two witnesses testified that the time was about 8:30.

One hour before Smith left the gas station, Vickie Zielinski had gone out the door of her home. She had a test coming up the next morning at Ramsey High School and wanted to study with her friend Barbara Nixon. Vickie was afraid to walk at night alone, so her sister Myrna went with her. One hour later, at 8:30, Vickie said goodbye to Barbara and started walking home. As agreed, Myrna again left her home, at 8:40, to meet her sister halfway and escort her home.

Crux of the Affair

What happened next is the crux of the case. The State introduced at trial the statement Smith had given fourteen hours after being picked up. He was on his way home, with the kerosene, Smith said, when Vickie hailed him. He knew her only casually, but stopped and picked her up. The time was 8:35 or 8:40.

When she got into the car, he continued, she asked him not to drive her home by the direct route, because her sister was walking to meet her, and must not be allowed to see her in a car alone with a boy. At her suggestion, Smith said, he drove into a sand pit and parked the car. Vickie was talking to him about school. He lit a cigarette and let her drone on. Suddenly—and, Smith said to the police, without provocation—Vickie announced she was going to walk home by herself, and jeered at him, "I'm going to tell my father you're just like the other boys." (There are obvious improbabilities in this story, which will be discussed in connection with the contradictory account Smith gave at trial.)

Feared Consequences

Smith feared disagreeable consequences, he said, and tried to keep her from getting out of the car. She struggled. He hit her "a good one" with his hand. His memory of ensuing events, he then told the police, failed, but he vaguely remembered running somewhere. Eventually he got back into his car and drove home. He remembered stopping by a Christmas tree he had thrown away some months before (and it was at this spot that the police found Vickie's schoolbooks and wallet) but he wasn't sure what he did there. His right foot felt cold and he looked down and saw that he had lost his shoe (which had not been laced up, because of the ankle injury).

He drove home. Before entering the trailer, he took off his pants, because he saw they were bloodstained. He told his wife he had gotten sick on them and discarded them. He filled the kerosene tank outside the trailer, and then attempted, but failed, to light the stove. The night being especially cold (22°) he and his wife decided they would spend the night with her mother in Ridgewood.

He then went to a pay telephone and called Gilroy. (The time of his call was 9:10, Gilroy testified.) Smith told Gilroy he had been sick and didn't want to drink any beer after all. He told Gilroy he hadn't been able to get the stove going, and wanted to take the family to sleep elsewhere. Would Gilroy drive them to Ridgewood? Gilroy agreed.

Smith set out alone to pick up Gilroy, telling his wife they'd be back shortly to drive over to Ridgewood. He went directly to the sand pit to retrieve the lost shoe. He saw nothing else while there, he said. He must have left the sand pit by 9:30 at the latest to have arrived at Gilroy's at 9:40. On the way, he dumped his bloodied pants—just where, he told the police, he did not remember. They drove together back to the trailer to pick up Mrs. Smith and the baby, and then on to Ridgewood, arriving at 10:15.

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Meanwhile, Myrna had walked all the way to the Nixon home, only to learn that Vickie had left on schedule. She and her mother waited up until midnight, then woke Mr. Zielinski. He and another daughter drove around for two hours looking for Vickie. The next morning Mr. and Mrs. Zielinski driving along Fardale Avenue spotted Vickie's scarf and shoe (see map). While Mrs. Zielinski went to phone the police, Mr. Zielinski walked into the sand pit. He saw his daughter's bloodstained gloves lying on the road, but for some reason ignored them. He turned and walked back to Chapel Road, by which time the police had arrived. He and a policeman walked back to the sandpit. The policeman noticed the gloves, and they continued the search. They discovered the brains. Then Zielinski saw the corpse, 61 feet from the gloves. He called out, "Mother, dear, come here, I found her."

Vickie, the coroner reported, had been wearing boy's blue jeans. The fly, was done up, and she had on "immaculate" white panties. She was *virgo intacta*. Her sweater had been pulled up and her bra yanked down. Cause of death was established as total crushing of the skull, and death was declared instantaneous. He fixed the time of death at midnight March 4, "give or take an hour." Small bruises were found on her which the coroner said were tooth marks.

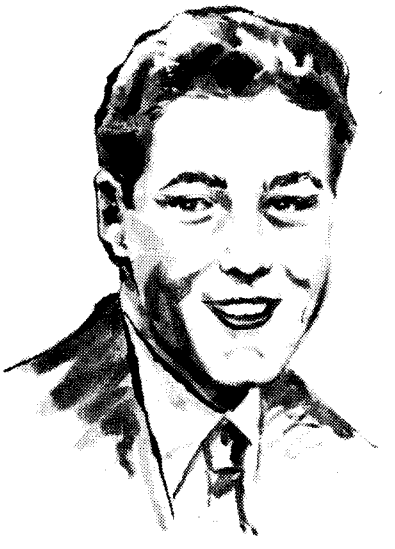
That afternoon Gilroy ran into Donald Hommell, a friend of Vickie and also of Smith, at their favorite hangout, Tony's Amoco Station. Gilroy told him he was on his way to pick up Smith at his mother-in-law's, and Hommell suggested they drive over in his car, rather than Gilroy's. When they arrived, Smith came out and asked whether the murdered girl was Vickie—he said he had heard radio broadcasts reporting the death of "Victoria" Zielinski. Hommell said, "Yeah," and with a wink at Gilroy—"the cops know from the tire tracks the make of the killer's car and are checking all the Mercurys in Bergen County." Smith paled visibly, according to Gilroy.

(Recalling this incident, Smith told the police, "That's when it hit me really hard I must have been the one who really did it.")

When the family got into Hommell's car, someone (just who, is disputed) found a lipstick and passed it to Hommell, saying, "Maybe this is Vickie's?" Hommell said, "No," and tossed it out the window.

Later that day Gilroy discovered two stains in his car—one on the left front seat, which was later identified as type "O" blood (Smith's blood type is "A", Vickie's blood type was "O")—and one on the right side of the transmission hump, which turned out to be kerosene. He recalled that Smith had told him about throwing away his pants because he had gotten sick over them. Remembering the way Smith had paled when Hommell had mentioned the tire tracks, Gilroy went to the police.

The police picked Smith up for questioning at 11:30 that night (March 5). Under prolonged questioning he finally broke down. It was



Edgar Smith

shortly after noon the next day. He gave the police the statement described above. He led the police to a garbage can where he had thrown away his shoes (which were stained with type "O" blood), then to the place where he had thrown Vickie's schoolbooks and wallet.

His pants were found by the police. They were stained in the lower leg area with type "O" blood.

The Defense

Aside from bloodstained clothes stained with the commonest blood type (40 per cent of the population has type "O" blood), a small stain on the seat of the car, and Smith's reaction to Hommell's taunt, the only evidence the State had against Smith was his own statement. Smith knew Vickie only slightly, and the police would probably never have got around to question him had Gilroy not gone to them. Smith's statement —which was not exactly a confession — is therefore the linchpin of the State's case. How can Smith explain it away?

Story Invented

At trial he swore that he had invented the whole story, "not thinking anyone would believe it." He was thus guilty of perjury, because the statement was given under oath. The story to the court was very different. Yes, he had picked Vickie up at 8:35 or 8:40, and yes she told him not to drive straight home because her sister should not see her in the car alone with a boy. This statement, by the way, is inherently implausible, though it was not contested at trial. Vickie would obviously get into greater trouble at home by letting Myrna walk all the way to the Nixons and return without Vickie than by letting her sister see her in a car. At trial Smith added a slight qualification to this, saying that Vickie told him she had something she must tell him.

They arrived at the sand pit at 8:45. Smith now said that Vickie told him his wife was playing around with another man, that he was enraged, slapped her face, and told her to walk home. She climbed out of the car and walked down the road. Smith paused for a few moments, then started to back out. He heard "a commotion" down at the corner, and saw Vickie returning with another man. Smith grabbed a baseball bat from the back seat "for protection." When the couple came closer, he saw that Vickie was leaning weakly against Don Hommell, bleeding from a scalp wound. Smith offered to take her to a doctor and she got into the car. Hommell, in a tantrum, dragged her from the car, and her head fell against Smith's pants. Hommell was known to have a violent temper, Smith said, and Vickie was his girl; so Smith drove home forthwith.

Later, on his way to pick up Gilroy, Smith continued, he spotted Hommell, parked in downtown Ramsey. He pulled up and asked him how Vickie was. Hommell supposedly

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said, "Don't worry about her. If you mention my name or in any way implicate me, I'm going to get your wife and baby." Because of this threat, Smith told the court, he invented the story he gave to the police.

Hommell swore he never saw Smith or Vickie the night of the killing. He denied absolutely Smith's claim that Vickie had been his girl friend. But under cross-examination he admitted having been out with her on ten different occasions.

Smith's story at the trial was denounced by the prosecutor. He told the jury it was a palpable phoney. If Smith had been scared of Hommell, why, when brought in by the police, had he said, "If you want a fall guy, why don't you get Donald Hommell?"

The Argument

Can anyone reasonably doubt Smith's guilt in the face of the evidence: bloodstains, his original statement, his perjury, the almost incredible story given at trial?

Smith's defense at trial concentrated on the coroner's evidence. If one is to believe the State's expert, who fixed the time of death (instantaneous) at midnight, "give or take an hour," and the evidence that Smith was at the sand pit no later than 9:30, then he simply could not have killed her.

The judge, however, held that the exact time of death was hard to fix, and that the jury could, in effect, make up its own mind when the murder happened. Stomach content analysis had not been carried out, unfortunately, else the time of death might have been conclusively established. The jury evidently decided that the doctor, (although he had performed thousands of autopsies) just didn't know what he was talking about, when he placed the murder at about midnight.

Suppose the doctor *did* know what he was talking about. We know that Smith could not have picked Vickie up before 8:35 *at the earliest.* It took him a few minutes to drive to the sand pit—just how long, is disputed (the distance is two miles). Smith claims he did not arrive before 8:45 because a bulldozer doing road work blocked the road temporarily. This allegation could have been checked, and contradicted by the State—a call to the town roads commission would have revealed whether a man was in fact working at the corner Smith named, during the period in question. Smith's evidence should thus be accepted, since the burden of proof at all times is on the State.

Smith never deviated from his claim to have arrived home before 9:00, a claim backed up by his wife. He certainly could not have arrived much later than this, because he telephoned Gilroy at 9:10, after removing a pair of pants, putting on another, going out to the kerosene tank, climbing up on the fence, filling the tank, and tinkering with the stove. In order to reach the trailer by 9:00, he had to leave the sand pit by 8:53 *at the latest.*

The State's charge is, in effect, that in the space of eight minutes—8:45—8:53—Smith 1) chatted with Vickie, 2) tried to make love to her, 3) progressed sufficiently far to leave tooth marks on her breast, 4) frightened her, 5) pursued her 300 feet, 6) cut her head open with a baseball bat, 7) threw the baseball bat 160 feet through trees and bushes, 8) brought her 300 feet back to the sand pit, 9) dragged her up to the top of mound 60 feet away, and 10) killed her with repeated blows from a heavy boulder. Aside from the superhuman speed with which this would all have had to occur even if it had been carefully rehearsed, the question also arises, how likely is it that a man of Smith's circumstances—married and with a young baby—would so far lose control of himself in the space of a minute or two as to murder brutally a girl he hardly knew?

Unanswered Questions

A problem for the State, not raised at the trial, becomes apparent from an examination of the map. The blood-soaked scarf and hank of hair were found 350 feet from the body. The hank of hair was small, but large enough to suggest a scalp wound that must have bled profusely. Yet there was no trail of blood from that point back to the body, 350 feet away, over ground that was carefully examined by numerous policemen. That means the killer either carried her from Fardale Avenue to the sand pit in such a way as to leave no blood on the road, or that she was hauled away in a car. Vickie weighed 120 and Smith 150, so that it is unlikely he would have elected to carry her that distance—he would have used the car. Why were there no bloodstains on the right front seat? or in the back? or trunk? And anyway, if he had to run back to fetch the car, just how far can one stretch the distance a man can travel in eight minutes?

Another item overlooked at the trial was Vickie's clothes, shot through with minute bone chips. The killer had to stand very close to her to use that fourteen-pound boulder so accurately. Small bone chips are highly tenacious. It is significant that a careful examination of Smith's clothing disclosed no bone chips whatever.

Problem for the Prosecution

No significance was attached to the location of the bloodstained gloves, discovered 61 feet from the body. There is no apparent reason for the killer to have taken them off the corpse and placed them on the road. Presumably, then, the blood on the gloves came from Vickie's scalp wound. She must have tried to stanch the flow of blood with the gloves. Smith said at the trial that he saw her returning, holding her head, leaning against Hommell. The point at which Hommell allegedly dragged her from the car is where the gloves were found—the gloves could have been yanked off her hands when he was pulling her from the car. If Smith had hit Vickie with a baseball bat on Fardale Avenue as alleged, she would have been in no condition to hold her head in her hands. The gloves thus tend to corroborate Smith's otherwise dubious story, but pose serious problems for the State's version.

Smith said he told Hommell during their brief conversation in Ramsey the night of the murder where he had discarded his pants. The woman who owns the property where Smith claimed to have thrown the pants swore at the trial that she had seen Hommell rummaging there the day after the murder. The pants were later found spread out near a well-traveled street. Did Hommell find them and leave them in the other location, thinking that he would dis-

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credit Smith's story? If it was Hommell, then Smith's story about talking to him the night of the murder is proved, since Hommell would otherwise have had no way of knowing where to look.

Hommell was proved to have been absent from the pharmacy where he worked at the time Smith was at the sand pit, and was seen by Myrna Zielinski driving at "about 60 miles an hour" (in a built-up zone) shortly after 9:00.

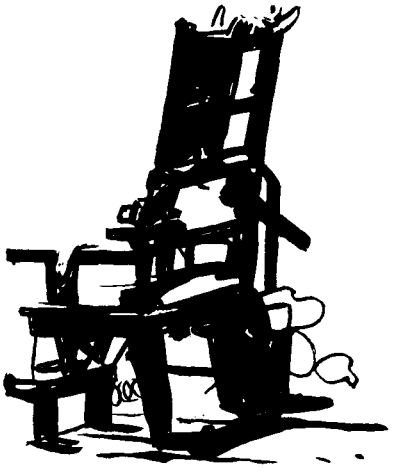
Although people can be convicted of murder without proof of motive, the circumstances in the Smith case are so bizarre that the State should have presented convincing proof that Smith had a reason for killing Vickie. And the "thwarted passion" argument is too tenuous to hang by—or be electrocuted on.

Consider. The only evidence for sexual passion examined by the jury was 1) the fact that Smith was alone in the car with a young girl on a cold night; 2) the disarray of her clothing; 3) the tooth marks. But the first is not conclusive, and Smith's explanation for her presence is credible: teenage girls *do* gossip. Besides, if Vickie went to the sand pit and parked with him and he progressed as far as is alleged, Smith wouldn't seem to have been rejected too firmly.

As for the clothing, the State was successful in convincing the jury of a logical fallacy. Vickie's sweater was hauled up and her bra was pulled down. But the State showed that Vickie had run a long way before her initial injury. If Smith had pulled up her sweater in the car, as alleged, two running steps would be sufficient to drop a loose cardigan back into position (The buttons of her sweater were still done up). If sex had been the motive, a killer would be unlikely to stop at pulling up the girl's sweater, but the buckle on Vickie's pants was tight and the fly done up. Vickie's disarranged clothing suggests that she struggled with her assailant before she died, not that he sexually attacked her.

The tooth marks are a mysterious factor. No evidence was adduced to show they were Smith's and it was not even conclusively proven that they *were* tooth marks. What the jury did was accept the doctor's opinion that is what they were, but reject his more important evidence about the time of death. The prosecutor deserves congratulations as a courtroom lawyer for convincing the jury to accept the useful part and reject the embarrassing part of the testimony of his own expert witness.

The State tried to circumvent the question of motive by arguing that this was a felony: attempted rape. The law of New Jersey provides that first degree murder must either be premeditated killing or felony mur-



der. *"Any other kind of murder is murder in the second degree,"* says the statute.

The judge rightly rejected the felony murder argument, because the state of Vickie's clothing and her physical condition as disclosed by the autopsy gave no evidence of attempted rape.

So, in order to convict Smith of first degree murder, the jury had to find that it was a premeditated, willful killing. Could it have been?

Even if the State's dubious contention that Smith was in a state of towering sexual passion were accepted, the short duration of time Smith was with Vickie rules out premeditation. He could not possibly have planned it in advance, because he barely knew Vickie and could not have known she would be walking home at the time they met.

Here is the dilemma: if the jury found that the killing resulted from thwarted passion, its verdict should have been second degree murder. If the jury could not find any evidence to support this interpretation (and I submit there was almost none), then it might have accepted Smith's story that he flew into a rage at Vickie for her accusation against his wife and assumed that this was the cause of the killing; in that case the killing arose from a "wrongful act or insult," which makes it a mandatory second degree murder, according to the law. If neither of these is accepted as sufficient motive in the circumstances, having regard for the brief time Smith was with Vickie and his marital situation, then there was no apparent motive, and Smith should probably have been acquitted.

The judge blurred the significance of these factors in his charge to the jury. He stated that time of death was not an essential element in the case. But if Vickie died when the coroner said she died, Smith is innocent, and if she died at 8:50, the verdict should have been second degree murder, because it had to be a "heat of passion killing." (This point was argued on an appeal, but not in reference to the time factor as analyzed herein.)

The fact that Smith could show the police where he threw Vickie's wallet and schoolbooks is not of itself conclusive evidence: it only goes to show that he was with her, a fact he has already admitted and explained, however inadequate that explanation might seem. If his story about Hommell is believed, it is reasonable that he might want to get rid of any evidence that Vickie had been with him, since he had reason to believe a crime may have been committed.

Statement Under Duress

What about Smith's incriminating statement, "That's when it hit me really hard I must have been the one who really did it"? Smith's explanation for this at the trial was that he did not know at the time he made the statement the cause of Vickie's death; he thought it possible that he might have injured her severely when he hit her with his hand.

It is probable that the sworn statement given to the police was the evidence that convicted Smith. It was given under conditions that, I think, should have ruled it inadmissible in evidence, having been obtained by methods inimical to the rules of fair play that are generally supposed to restrain the state's agents from interfering with the individual's liberty.

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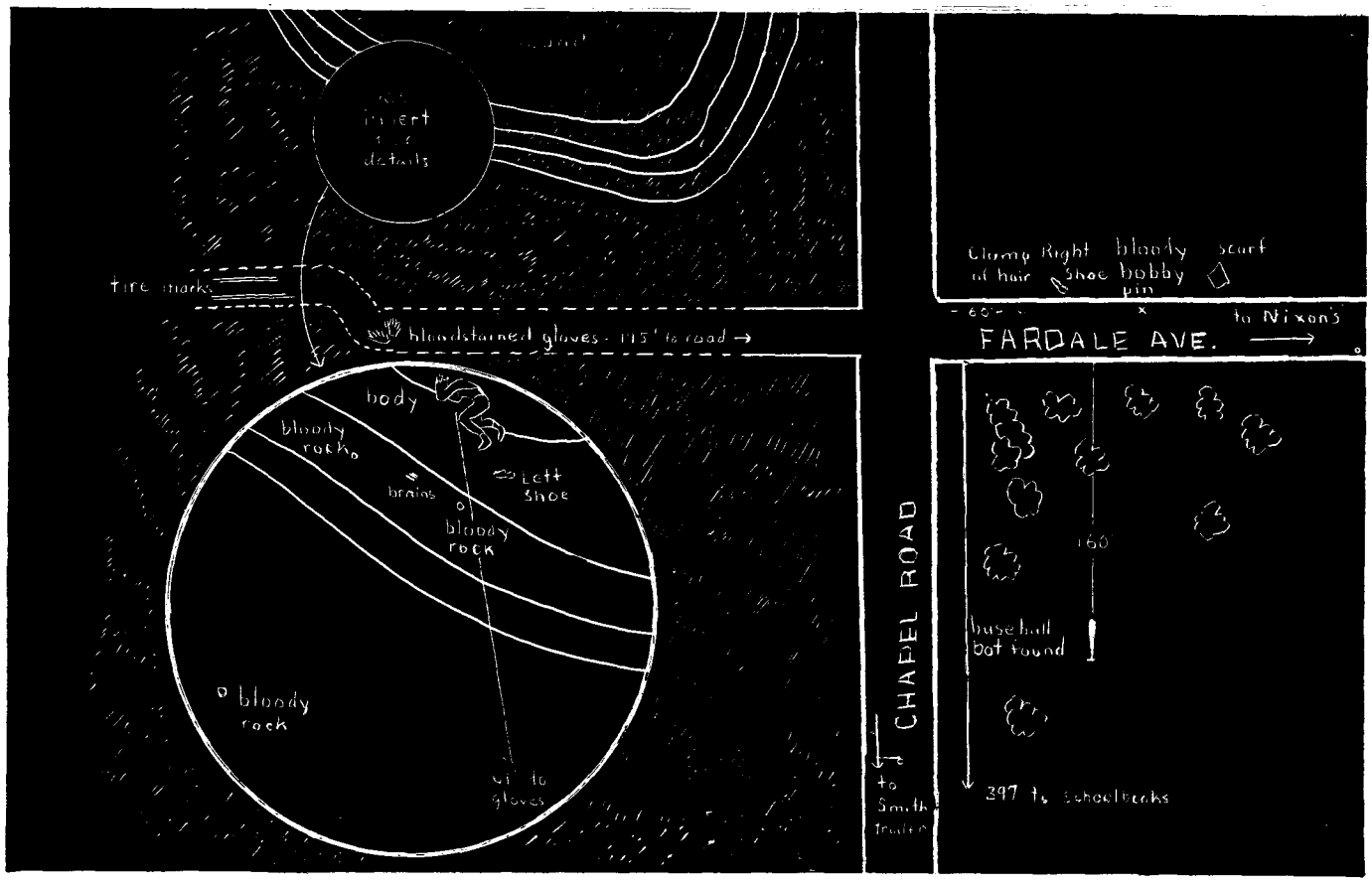

This point was argued before the U.S. Court of Appeals this spring, which rejected it by a 2-1 vote. The dissenter summarized:

> The stark facts are that from 8:00 a.m. on the morning of March 5, 1957 until 3:45 p.m. on March 6, 1957—almost 32 hours—the appellant had no sleep with the exception of a couple of hours before he was taken from his bed and placed in custody at 11:30 p.m. on March 5; that he was interrogated in relays by prosecutors and their aides, local police and county detectives, as many as seven being present at one time, all through the night, relieved only by his being taken to various places in freezing weather with only a T-shirt on . . .; that he was given a light breakfast, stripped and examined by a doctor and questioned repeatedly until 10 a.m. on March 6, when he broke down completely and cried and asked for a Catholic priest . . . .

Conclusion

In his closing to the jury, the prosecutor summed up, "The eyes of Bergen County are upon you. Will our girls be safe on the streets?" Although the judge told the jury to ignore this exhortation, I think it possible that it explains the indecent haste of the jury—which took only two hours to deliberate on a complex case that had lasted two weeks at trial.

I cannot share their certainty, beyond a reasonable doubt, that Smith is guilty. I can only contemplate with horror the impending execution of Edgar Smith. Past appeals for gubernatorial clemency have failed, whether, as Smith's partisans allege, because Hommell's uncle, another New Jersey prosecutor, was a close associate and leading backer of then Governor Meyner, I do not know. Whatever one's views on capital punishment—and I consider it a legitimate aspect of sovereignty—the ultimate act of the state power should not be exercised when so much reasonable doubt remains.

And, after a year of grappling with the issues in this case, I still wonder.

I wonder if, when the newspapers report that the ghastly rites of the electric chair have once again been celebrated, someone will smile — someone who destroyed his clothing six years ago because of the profusion of small bone chips spangled through its fibers?

First Law of Nature

Despite the Chinese invasion and despite Chinese deception, we still feel that every nation should be represented at the UN.
Mrs. Pandit Nehru, Meet the Press
Sept. 22, 1963

Turkeys gobble; fishes pale;
Possums feign the vapors.
Husbands, when their spouses flail,
Burrow in the papers.
Reptiles rattle; canines growl;
Felines show their claws.
Certain beatnik poets "howl";
Winston Churchill "jaws."
Even friendly Adlai
Occasionally squawks.
(Some who saw him may say
He's angry with the "hawks.")
Ghibelline and Guelph do
React, when on the brink:
Can Nehru bring himself to
Be beastly to the Chink?

W. H. VON DREELE

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A Survey of the Political and Religious Attitudes of American College Students

Participating Colleges: SARAH LAWRENCE
WILLIAMS
YALE
MARQUETTE
BOSTON UNIVERSITY
INDIANA
SOUTH CAROLINA
HOWARD
REED
DAVIDSON
BRANDEIS
STANFORD

Sponsored By:
EDUCATIONAL REVIEWER, Inc.,
Russell Kirk, D. Litt., President / Ernest van den Haag, Ph.D., Secretary / Eugene V. Clark, Director

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INTRODUCTION

In the spring of 1959, the Harvard *Crimson* published the results of a poll which probed the religious and political attitudes of the undergraduate student bodies of Harvard and Radcliffe Colleges. The questionnaire on which it was based, prepared by the editors of the *Crimson* in consultation with Professor David Riesman, was, manifestly, unusual: for its complexity was sufficient to record the subtlest tendencies of opinion and motivation, and yet, unlike most question-and-answer forms of its length, the flow of its questions tended to attract students who would ordinarily shun the idea of replying to eighty-two difficult and often detailed queries.

The Educational Reviewer, in keeping with its policy of exploring educational ideas, materials and attitudes on American university campuses, decided in 1960 to conduct a poll of its own, utilizing the unabridged text of the *Crimson* questionnaire but expanding the 1959 poll's scope from two to twelve undergraduate liberal-arts colleges. The purpose of the Educational Reviewer poll, whose results are printed in their entirety in these pages, is to identify the influences at work at liberal arts colleges and their bearing on undergraduate values, and to determine how students from different backgrounds are likely to react to these influences. The sampling was limited to sophomores, juniors, and seniors, on the assumption that most freshmen have had insufficient time to react to their new surroundings. The students polled represent, in every case, 7 per cent of the combined number of sophomore, junior, and senior undergraduates in the college in question — a proportion deemed reliable by the *Crimson* editors' consultants on the faculty for a random-sample survey. The questionnaires were mailed and, in some cases, handed out personally. If fewer than the required 7 per cent of the population of a given college replied after the first wave of mailings and handouts, new mailings were sent; if a college exceeded its quota at any time, the excess responses were scientifically discarded. At some of the colleges the interest in the poll was so great that as many as two-thirds of the responses had to be thrown out, in the interest of statistical consistency. Thus it is that many students who completed and forwarded the questionnaire will not personally have influenced its outcome.

Each of the twelve colleges was chosen to typify a certain style of education (small-town, church-affiliated, state-supported, etc.). What follows is a skeletal description of each college in question:

1. Sarah Lawrence College: private; non-sectarian; women's; small (475 students); Bronxville, N. Y.; high academic standing, reputation for progressivism.
2. Williams College: private; non-sectarian; small men's; Williamstown, Mass.; high academic standing.
3. Yale University: private; non-sectarian; 4,000 men; New Haven, Conn.; Ivy League.
4. Marquette University: private; Catholic-supported and run by Jesuits; coeducational; Milwaukee.
5. Boston University; private; non-sectarian; large student body; coeducational.
6. Indiana University: state-supported; large student body; coeducational; Bloomington, Ind.
7. University of South Carolina: state-supported; non-sectarian; large student body; segregated; coeducational; Columbia, S. C.
8. Howard University: private, but heavily supported by federal funds; non-sectarian; large, predominantly Negro student body; coeducational; Washington, D.C.
9. Reed College: private; non-sectarian; small student body; coeducational; Portland, Ore.; high academic standards, known as an academic innovator, and as pioneer in progressive educational techniques.
10. Davidson College: private; Presbyterian-affiliated; men's; Davidson, N.C.; high academic standing.
11. Brandeis University: private; founded under Jewish auspices, but non-sectarian; small (1,200-1,300 students); coeducational; predominantly Jewish student body; Waltham, Mass.; educationally progressive.
12. Stanford University: private; non-sectarian; medium-large (roughly the size of Yale); coeducational; Palo Alto, Calif.; high academic standing.

Mailings to the first six colleges in the preceding list were done in the academic year of 1961-62; the second six were canvassed in 1962-63. In the tables of statistics which follow, all fractional percentiles have been dropped, in the interest of compactness, to the nearest full percentile: 9.9%, for example, is represented in the tables as 9%; 0.7% is reduced to zero. In the analytical articles prepared for the Educational Reviewer to supplement the statistics, fractional percentages have been rounded off to the *nearest* percentile: 9.4% is represented in the articles as 9%, and 9.5% or 9.6% as 10%.

The directors of Educational Reviewer are convinced that the statistics that follow, and the myriad conclusions and value-judgments to be drawn from them (whose subtleties the two analytical articles only begin to assert), will be of considerable interest to students of American education and American history, today's and tomorrow's.

For the Directors: *Edward J. Bell*

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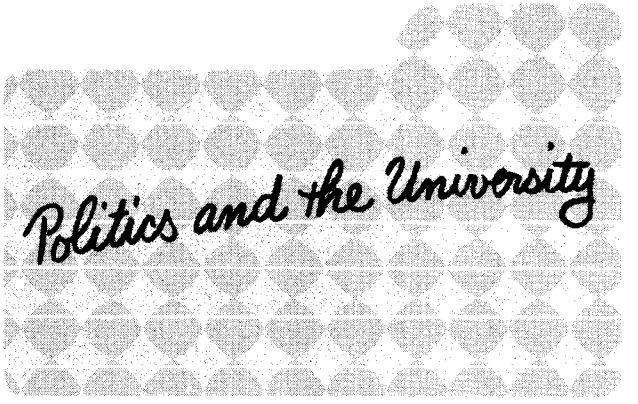

The undergraduate liberal arts college, concludes the Educational Reviewer from its survey of twelve American campuses, tends to push its students toward the liberal and socialistic left

Preliminary Definitions

Liberal: the political position that tends to advocate substantial increases in economic and social activities of government, or of "the public sector."

Conservative: the position that tends to recommend solution of problems by "traditional" modes, generally favoring the private over the public sector.

Socalist: the position that advocates, at the minimum, government ownership of the basic industries.

Of all the sophomores, juniors, and seniors polled by the Educational Reviewer, nearly seventy per cent report that significant change has taken place in their political beliefs since entering college. In all but two of the colleges tested, that change has been in a liberal direction. The exceptions are state-supported Indiana University and predominantly Catholic Marquette. Two-thirds of those students whose political thinking has changed in college have changed in a direction opposite from their pre-college thinking. In only two of the twelve schools polled (Marquette and Brandeis) has a majority of those whose thinking reversed its course done so in a conservative direction.

These findings illuminate and seem to support the thesis that American liberal arts colleges tend to exercise a politically liberalizing influence on their students, chiefly because of the liberal viewpoint of the average American faculty member. More than two-fifths of those whose positions have evolved list as a primary agent in the change "lectures and/or assigned reading courses." The only reason in the poll listed more often is "increased thinking about political questions," which more than seventy per cent list, and which, from its nature, would seem to supplement rather than contradict faculty influence. Ten per cent cite "personal contact with faculty members" as one of the guiding influences for their change.

The influence of the liberal arts faculty, then, is apparently a paramount factor in determining the political complexion of those college students whose views were flexible when they matriculated. And the poll also tends to show that there is a correlation between the views of the college faculty and those of the student body.

The Yale Student

The typical Yale student, for example, comes from 1) a family that is financially secure (the average Yale student responding to the poll reports a parental income of close to $20,000, and 15 per cent are in the "$50,000 or more" category), and 2) a family that tends to vote Republican (two-thirds of Yale parents are Republicans). Yet a substantial plurality (47 per cent) classify themselves as "moderate liberals" (the only category in the poll which includes the word "liberal"), and another 3 per cent as "radicals" of the left.

The third and final division of the poll, that of political "conservatives," draws 38 per cent, a surprisingly low figure for students who, despite numerous defections to "independence," register themselves 5-to-3 Republican among those who have major-party sympathies.

Nearly three-fourths of all Yale students report a substantial change in their political thinking in college (the figure includes, of course, students who have been on campus barely a year), and two-thirds of these list lectures and course reading as significant reasons for their change in views. Of those students whose political tendencies have reversed course, nearly three-fifths have become more liberal.

The extent of the indicated drift to the left is obscured by the "moderate liberal" classification around which the question is centered. For at Yale, and to an even greater extent at some of the other colleges polled, there is a substantial minority of students who, by the poll's definitions, would qualify as socialist, or as advocates of government ownership of major industries: 18 per cent of Yale students are either "definitely in favor" (the strongest expression of belief in the questionnaire) or "somewhat in favor" of "socialization of [the] basic industries" and socialization of the medical profession.

Williams and Sarah Lawrence, selected as male and female exemplars of the Eastern liberal-arts small college, appear to offer the same kind of persuasiveness in political and social thought as Yale. The typical Williams and Sarah Lawrence parent is richer than the Yale man's, and the Williams parent appears even more conservative than his Yale counterpart (Williams parents are about 75 per cent Republican, the

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heaviest Republican figure by far of any of the twelve colleges in the poll). Yet nearly a third of the students at Sarah Lawrence and Williams are socialists, according to the above definition. Although they favor government ownership of the basic industries, few call themselves "radical." (Though 31 per cent of the Williams student body favor socialization of steel, railroads, *et al.*, only five per cent call themselves "radicals." At Yale, the figures are 18 and 3 per cent, and at Boston University, an urban, cosmopolitan school with a sizable Jewish minority, 35 per cent are "socializers" and only 7 per cent "radical.") That so many "moderate liberals" (their own classification) favor the basic plank of socialism indicates a certain semantic confusion among American college students.

The Harvard poll's wording of the question, "Are you in favor of socialization of *only* basic industries [italics added], would seem to exclude those strict socialists who advocate *full* socialization of *all* industries. While in most of the twelve colleges the doctrinaire socialists are comparatively few (just over 6 per cent in the total sample), the picture is strikingly different at Reed and Brandeis. At Reed, 26 per cent are either "definitely in favor" or "somewhat in favor" of total socialism; the corresponding figure at Brandeis is 21 per cent. And Reed, which is smaller than Brandeis, has an even harder "hard core" of orthodox Marxists. One-seventh of the student body is "definitely in favor" of total socialism, a proportion twice as large as that of any other college polled.

WEALTHY STUDENTS, apparently, are no less vulnerable to the influence of a liberal faculty than undergraduates of more modest means. Forty-six per cent of Sarah Lawrence parents, for example, have yearly salaries of more than $30,000, and 60 per cent make over $20,000. In addition, the parents, despite a sizable minority of what might be called the "liberal rich," are slightly more likely to be Republican than Democratic. Asked for their party affiliation "either in spirit or actual membership," the girls of Sarah Lawrence come out 50 per cent for the Democrats, 18 per cent for the Republicans, and 9 per cent for "other" parties — of the far left. Although a majority (55 per cent) classify themselves as "moderate liberals," 14 per cent consider themselves "radical," and about a third are socialists as defined above. Fifty-five per cent favor socialized medicine; two out of three favor "continued governmental projects on the order of the TVA"; 64 per cent count themselves in favor of "immediate unilateral suspension of all nuclear tests by the United States" (compared with 9 per cent at Yale, 7 per cent at Marquette); 59 per cent favor recognition of Communist China and its admission to the United Nations (33 per cent at Yale, 11 per cent at Marquette); and practically all the students are for federal aid to the arts, to elementary and secondary schools, and to higher education.

War vs. Surrender

"If the United States should find itself in such a position that all other alternatives were closed save a world war with the Soviet Union or surrender to the Soviet Union, would you favor a) war, or b) surrender?" Answer at Sarah Lawrence: 46 per cent for war, 46 per cent for unconditional surrender to the Soviets. Surrender wins a greater vote only at Brandeis (49 per cent) and at Reed (60 per cent); nearly four-fifths of all students in the poll would favor "war" in this hypothetical situation.

Sarah Lawrence appears to stand out in terms of the political influence of its campus. Forty-five per cent of its students have become more liberal since coming to college, only 14 per cent more conservative; only at Reed is the latter figure lower. Furthermore, of the sizable proportion of girls whose political thinking has reversed course, seven out of eight have gone left. The 5 per cent of Sarah Lawrence girls whose thinking has gone from "liberal to more conservative" is less than half the figure recorded at Reed.

There seems to be a minority of students on every campus which is willing to designate itself "conservative." This "conservative index" ranges from 7 per cent at largely Jewish Brandeis to 44 per cent at Presbyterian-affiliated Davidson. At predominantly Negro Howard, 9 per cent take a "conservative" position; at overwhelmingly liberal Reed, the figure is 11 per cent. In all, nearly a third of the students responding to the poll classify themselves as "conservatives." They have a plurality over the "moderate liberals" only at Davidson (they trail, 45 to 40 per cent, even at the University of South Carolina). Overall, however, they trail the "moderate liberals" only by about 3-to-2; and Republicans slightly outnumber Democrats among the students tested.

Conservative Polarization

At some of the colleges in the poll it appears that the conservative student minority represents a counter-influence against the liberal arts faculty. At large Indiana University, for example, 18 per cent report that their political thinking has gone from "conservative to more conserative" since coming to campus, while only 9 per cent have evolved from "liberal to more liberal." Indiana parents are more Republican than Democratic (58 per cent to 37 per cent); Indiana students, among those who express a party preference, are even more solidly Republican than their parents (52 per cent to 27 per cent). At the University of South Carolina, 14 per cent have become more conservative, while only 8 per cent have gone from "liberal to more liberal." And at Yale, Sarah Lawrence, Davidson, and Stanford, conservatives have more or less held their own. Only at Howard, Reed, and Brandeis does it seem virtually impossible for a basically conservative student to grow more conservative.

At Reed, not a single student tested has gone from "conservative to more conservative"; two-fifths have moved measurably to the left of an originally "liberal" position.

Among students who have *reversed* political course while at college (a far more sizable group than those who merely accelerated in the direction they were already taking), liberalism seems in the ascendant. At Davidson, 36 per cent have gone from "conservative to more liberal," only 18 per cent from "liberal to more conservative"; at Williams, the contrast is 50 to 19 per cent; at Boston University, 28 to 16 per cent; at Stanford, the nearest approach to "Ivy League" education on the West Coast, 37 to 12 per cent; at South Carolina, 29 to

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20 per cent. Brandeis is one of the two colleges where the rule is reversed. There, 16 per cent have gone from "liberal to more conservative," 13 per cent from "conservative to more liberal." But Brandeis students are preponderantly liberal to begin with: 86 per cent of Brandeis parents are registered Democrats, 11 per cent Republicans. And since only 7 per cent of Brandeis students now consider themselves to be conservative, it seems likely that the "liberal to more conservative" category contains many students whose thinking has evolved from the far left to the moderate left. And what of the 34 per cent who have evolved from a liberal position to one even more liberal? It is enough to say that one-sixth of the Brandeis student body considers itself "radical," that only 50 per cent express "definite opposition" to socializaion of *all* industry, and that a substantial majority favors socialized medicine.

Religion vs. Politics

Marquette is the only school besides Brandeis where more students have evolved "from liberal to more conservative" than "from conservative to more liberal" (24 to 23 per cent). But at Marquette, and among Catholics polled at other colleges, politics appears to be a topic of only secondary interest. A massive 55 per cent of Marquette students polled are "more concerned with religion than politics" (as against 27 per cent of all students tested), and only 7 per cent are "secular" in that they are "more concerned with politics than religion" (overall figure: 38 per cent). Only at South Carolina is a plurality (a slight one) also more interested in religion than politics. Only at Howard have fewer students changed their political beliefs than at Marquette.

MARQUETTE STUDENTS remain for the most part liberal. Nearly half (49 per cent) classify themselves as "moderate liberals"; 31 per cent are conservative. Marquette's collegians, moreover, are more Democratic (36 to 29 per cent) than their parents (47 to 45 per cent). The student body's position on domestic problems is roughly comparable to Yale's. Three per cent are either "definitely in favor" or "somewhat in favor" of full socialization (2 per cent at Yale); 15 per cent express approval of government ownership of the dominant means of production (18 per cent at Yale); 43 per cent want federal health insurance (44 per cent at Yale); and 64 per cent look forward to "continued governmental projects on the order of TVA" (55 per cent at Yale).

Anti-Communist Consensus

Marquette's liberalism is combined with a militant anti-Communism. There is near unanimity, for instance, on the war-or-surrender question: 96 per cent would be for war, 3 per cent for surrender. Only South Carolina, with a 94 per cent "war" preference, comes close to matching those figures. Marquette students oppose recognition of Communist China by an 82 per cent majority; the very same proposal wins solid endorsement at Sarah Lawrence (59 per cent), Williams (54 per cent), Reed (83 per cent), and Brandeis (71 per cent). Eighty-three per cent at Marquette are opposed to a Communist's holding a teaching position at an American university (a position embraced with comparable favor only at South Carolina (81 per cent), Indiana (73 per cent), Boston University (56 per cent), and Howard (49 per cent); and a meager 14 per cent are willing to accept the proposition (in the wording of the Harvard poll) that "the concept of the national state has become so dangerously anachronistic that the U. S. should take the risks involved in surrendering some of her sovereignty in a serious attempt at achieving a strong international federation or world government." Nearly 30 per cent of all students polled, including impressive majorities at Reed and Brandeis, and pluralities at Sarah Lawrence and Stanford, agree with the proposition thus stated.

Marquette's militant anti-Communism, then, is apparently unrelated to any distrust of socialism or the welfare state; it seems to have more to do with the religious position of the students. Marquette is the only school in the survey at which a majority (54 per cent) sees religious beliefs as a "central issue" in the cold war against Communism. Less than 26 per cent of all the students tested agree.

Except for Reed, Brandeis, and Sarah Lawrence, the colleges polled seem to agree on the importance of the Communist threat. But the existence of an entrenched minority of leftists is apparent at every college, and the two Southern colleges examined (privately endowed Davidson and state-supported South Carolina) are no exception. At South Carolina, 18 per cent are either "definitely in favor" or "somewhat in favor" of socialization of the "dominant means," and at Davidson (where two-thirds of the political "reverses" have veered left) the figure is 26 per cent. Fewer students at South Carolina and Davidson want socialization of the medical profession (11 and 16 per cent, respectively), but nearly half at Davidson would like to see "national health insurance."

AND, PERHAPS REFLECTING the proximity of the Tennessee Valley Authority, 62 per cent at South Carolina and 50 per cent at Davidson not only favor TVA, but want more projects along that line. Majorities (51 per cent at South Carolina and 64 per cent at Davidson) favor "government wage and price controls" to check inflation. This proposal is more popular at Davidson than at any school on the survey, including Reed and Brandeis; despite a conservative registration of 44 per cent, only 18 per cent are "definitely opposed" to the measure. Minorities at both colleges (29 per cent at South Carolina and 28 per cent at Davidson) favor the more or less "conservative" position of "no government wage and price controls under any circumstances (save, perhaps, in time of war)."

The less affluent of the two Southern schools, South Carolina, is more resolute on the Communist issue than comparatively well-to-do Davidson. While only 4 per cent of South Carolinians would favor surrender in a life-or-death confrontation with the Soviets, nearly a seventh of Davidson's student body would choose to capitulate. Although 81 per cent at South Carolina would not permit a Communist to hold a teaching position at any American university, a majority (54 per cent) at Davidson take the opposite position.

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Davidson is by far the more political-minded of the two schools. More Davidson students (a tenth of the student body) read *National Review* than at any other college, and a like number read either the *Nation* or the *New Republic*. About half as many South Carolinians read *National Review*, and very few (2 per cent) read either of the above-mentioned liberal weeklies.

The political consciousness of both schools is mirrored in mass student defections from the Democratic Party. Davidson parents are 53 per cent Democratic and 41 per cent Republican; Davidson students are 36 per cent Republican and 26 per cent Democratic. More than half of Davidson's students from Democratic families, then, have shed their traditional party label; many of those who remain Democrats are also liberal. At South Carolina, the Democratic edge in parental registration is even more striking: 65 to 29 per cent. Although the Democrats hold a bare lead in the student body (35 to 33 per cent), South Carolina is one of three schools where a major party (in this case the GOP) has a higher percentage membership among students than among parents. (The two others are Williams and Sarah Lawrence, where the Democrats show gains.)

THE POLITICS OF HOWARD seems to reflect the political currents working among Negroes as a group in America. More than three-fifths put themselves in the "moderate liberal" category; some 9 per cent consider themselves conservative and 8 per cent "radical." The Howard campus is beyond question a force for political liberalism. Even fewer students at Howard have gone to the right since coming to college than at Reed; 1 per cent have gone from "conservative to more conservative," a figure exceeding only that of Reed, where none of the students tested reports such a change. Just over a tenth of the students now consider themselves Republicans; slightly more than a fifth of Howard's parents are Republicans. Although only the above-mentioned 8 per cent are willing to call themselves "radical," 15 per cent favor "full socialization of all industries," and an enormous 41 per cent would nationalize the basic industries if given a choice. Despite its collectivist sympathies, Howard remains resolute on the Communist issue. Seventy-three per cent would favor war if it came to that or surrender to the Soviets (compare that with 63 per cent at white, well-to-do, and largely Republican Stanford); pluralities oppose recognition of Communist China and Communist teachers in American universities; only a few more than at South Carolina (19 to 17 per cent) feel that the idea of the nation-state is now "dangerously anachronistic."

Right-to-Work Popularity

One of the few areas of general agreement in the poll has to do with right-to-work laws. Every school in the poll except Sarah Lawrence has a substantial majority either "definitely in favor" or "somewhat in favor" of such a law, and at no school does a plurality disapprove of the measure. In all, five-eighths of the students polled show partiality toward right-to-work, with little more than a sixth showing opposition. The most determined opposition comes from Sarah Lawrence (27 per cent definitely opposed); the most impressive assent comes, not from South Carolina, but from Howard, Brandeis, Indiana, and Davidson, in that order. Even at Stanford, located in a state which rejected right-to-work in a statewide election as recently as 1958, 62 per cent now favor the measure and only 23 per cent oppose it. While some of right-to-work's showing may simply be due to its semantically attractive label, the result admits of interesting conclusions. The figures at Howard and Brandeis, in particular, may show a deeply felt antagonism among Jewish and Negro students to discriminatory hiring practices of large labor unions.

Ayn Rand on Campus

Both conservatives and liberals generally oppose one of the measures tested in the poll: the proposal to repeal anti-trust legislation. Thus the question may serve to define a group which could be designated as the "19th-century liberals," who appear to have made their most significant headway among American youth through the philosophy of novelist Ayn Rand. Miss Rand's philosophy, Objectivism, is a blend of atheism and of 19th-century laissez-faire economics. Assuming that adherents of Objectivism are sufficiently familiar with their philosophy's tenets to be "definitely in favor" of repeal of anti-trust laws (Miss Rand has called the Sherman Act of 1890 the single most pernicious piece of legislation ever passed in America), the largest groups of Objectivists appear to exist at Stanford and Boston University (7 and 5 per cent). In all, slightly more than 3 per cent (or one of every thirty college students) definitely favor the Objectivist-liberal position on anti-trust laws; another 7 per cent, with large samplings at South Carolina, Indiana, Yale, and Marquette, favor the plank to some degree. This, coupled with the fact that the repeal measure wins much of its support from students without religious affiliation, would seem to indicate that a small but appreciable headway is being made by the Objectivists. Their hard-core membership, however, is evidently far less than a tenth of the student right.

Conclusions

1. College faculties tend to exert a liberalizing influence on their students.
2. State-supported and Catholic colleges are less likely to exert a liberalizing influence on their students than privately endowed colleges.
3. Jewish students tend to come from liberal backgrounds, and tend to become still more liberal while at college.
4. Catholic students tend to be more concerned with religion than with politics. Protestants, Jews, and nonbelievers (agnostics and atheists) tend to be more concerned with politics than with religion.
5. White Protestant students tend to be more conservative than Negro Protestants, Catholics, Jews, or nonbelievers.
6. There is a student movement toward the Republican Party in Southern colleges, and toward the Democratic Party in small Eastern colleges and among Negroes.
7. There is a significant representa-

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tion of socialist thought among American college students. Socialism is strongest among non-believers, Jews, and Negroes, in that order.

8. A majority of American college students tends to favor an increase in the public sector at the expense of the private sector.

9. A substantial majority of students at all colleges, and among all major religious and ethnic groups, favors the enactment of right-to-work laws.

10. There is no clearly recognizable correlation between the wealth of a student's family and his tendency to take conservative political positions.

11. Students from poorer backgrounds tend to be more anti-Communist than students from wealthier backgrounds.

12. There tends to be a correlation between the devoutness of a student's religious beliefs and the degree of his anti-Communism.

13. Jewish students tend to be less anti-Communist than Christian students. Non-believers are still less likely to be anti-Communist.

14. The American Negro student tends to favor strong anti-Communist policies.

15. There is substantial evidence of a conservative movement in the colleges. About one-third of the students tested describe themselves as "conservative," and take what is defined above as a "conservative" position.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE: Part I

LEGEND:

SL = *Sarah Lawrence College;* **Wms** = *Williams College;* **Yale** = *Yale University;* **Marq** = *Marquette University;* **BU** = *Boston University;* **Ind** = *Indiana University;* **SC** = *University of South Carolina;* **Hwd** = *Howard University;* **Reed** = *Reed College;* **Dav** = *Davidson College;* **Bran** = *Brandeis University;* **Stan** = *Stanford University.*

All fractional percentiles have been dropped (40.2% = 40%, 0.5% = 0, etc.).

1a) Age of Respondents:

1) 17 years & under 2) 18 3) 19 4) 20 5) 21 6) 22 7) 23 8) 24 9) 25 10) 26 years & over

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)					1			1				
2)	4	3	2	2	3	3	3	2	17	4	16	2
3)	36	25	24	24	27	26	17	20	31	16	23	23
4)	36	29	35	26	23	30	35	22	25	34	26	32
5)	18	32	26	22	19	17	25	17	20	34	26	28
6)		6	8	11	8	10	8	8	2	10	1	9
7)	4	1	1	4	3	5	2	7			1	1
8)			1	3	5	2	2	5	2	2	1	1
9)				1	1	1	2	4				
10)				4	5	2	2	10			2	

1b) College Affiliation:

1) Numerical representation 2) Combined response of Sophomore, Junior, and Senior classes at each institution

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
1)	22	58	202	286	441	501	226	204	35	50	68	302
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
2)	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7

1c) Class Year:

1) Seniors 2) Juniors 3) Sophomores

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	27	32	30	28	28	26	31	30	25	32	32	32
2)	22	32	34	31	31	30	33	33	31	32	33	33
3)	50	34	35	39	39	43	35	35	42	36	33	33

1d) Field of Concentration or Intended Field of Concentration:

1) Engineering 2) Liberal Arts 3) Business Administration, Marketing, Public Relations 4) Communications, Journalism 5) Music, English, Languages 6) Psychology 7) Science 8) Pre-Law, Pre-Medical 9) Education 10) Nursing 11) Political Science, History, Government

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)			7	12	2							
2)	13	3	2	1	4	2			2			1
3)			3	15	24	20	22	5		4		3
4)				4	9	2	4					1
5)	54	32	30	18	15	21	15	19	45	30	26	27
6)	9	1	3	4	9	3	4	7	11	10	10	3
7)	13	12	9	5	7	9	14	26	17	18	27	24
8)		3	2	11	1	9	6	5	2	16		3
9)	4			4	7	10	10	5				
10)				12	1	3	4	11		2		
11)	4	46	40	9	15	16	9	9	20	14	35	22

2) In what sort of secondary school did you receive most of your education:

1) Public 2) Private boarding 3) Private day 4) Parochial

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	40	48	51	28	79	92	92	89	77	82	80	87
2)	40	19	29	7	9	2	4	2	5	12	4	4
3)	18	27	16	12	8	1	1	2	14	4	11	5
4)		3	2	51	2	4	1	5	2			2

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3) In what group does your father's salary fall:

1) under $4,000 2) $7,000 to $10,000 3) $10,000 to $15,000 4) $15,000 to $20,000 5) $20,000 to $30,000 6) $30,000 to $50,000 7) over $50,000

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	13		6	10	11	13	9	26	5	8	4	5
2)	4	22	17	38	30	42	43	50	28	32	30	30
3)	9	19	18	19	14	20	17	9	17	24	26	26
4)	9	8	14	9	12	9	8	2	20	10	10	10
5)	13	15	13	5	10	4	5	1	8	10	7	8
6)	36	19	9	8	7	4	3	1	5	10	7	7
7)	9	3	15	1	6	2	1		8	2	4	4

Two-party Support

The poll shows overwhelming support (64 per cent) for the American two-party system among the students tested. Twenty-three per cent would favor an alteration in the system to provide for a "liberal" party and a "conservative" party to replace the current conception of the Republicans and Democrats as parties which comprise widely differing points of view. Very few, however, would support a third party. A third party of the radical left would win significant support only at Sarah Lawrence (22 per cent), Reed (17 per cent), and Brandeis (11 per cent). The largest support for a third party of the right comes from South Carolina (9 per cent).

4) What do you plan to do after graduation and/or military duty:

1) prepare to teach liberal arts in a university 2) prepare to teach scientific subjects or do scientific research in a university 3) teach in a secondary school 4) enter business 5) study law 6) study medicine 7) enter a seminary 8) other 9) I do not know

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)		12	6	4	5	6	4	6	22	4	16	7
2)		6	6	2	3	4	2	6	8	6	13	12
3)	9	5	3	13	11	18	12	11	17	6		6
4)		22	21	27	27	23	28	12	5	20	11	26
5)	4	29	24	4	9	12	9	8	8	18	14	14
6)	4	6	9	7	3	8	7	14	2	18	17	10
7)		5	3	1		1	1	1	2	4		1
8)	68	5	17	34	32	21	26	37	17	10	17	12
9)	18	10	10	5	5	4	7	4	14	14	10	9

5) In which of the following religious traditions were you raised:

1) Roman Catholicism 2) Eastern Orthodoxy 3) Protestantism 4) Judaism 5) other 6) none

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	9	13	10	90	19	13	6	12	8	4	4	11
2)			2	1				2				1
3)	45	74	64	7	34	73	88	72	40	94	11	68
4)	40	10	13	1	42	8	2	4	25		75	9
5)			3		1	1	1	6	8		1	4
6)		1	5		1	3		2	17		7	5

6) To what degree was this religious tradition an influence on your upbringing:

1) very marked 2) moderate 3) slight 4) none at all

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	18	19	16	67	19	31	32	33	28	34	20	19
2)	31	46	44	30	46	46	53	46	25	56	30	45
3)	40	29	31	2	28	18	13	17	28	10	41	26
4)	9	5	6		5	3	1	1	8		4	8

7) Has there been a period when you reacted either partially or wholly against this tradition:

1) yes 2) no

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	59	67	67	27	67	62	64	63	60	82	66	60
2)	40	32	31	70	31	36	35	32	34	16	27	37

8) If such a reaction did occur, when did significant doubt begin:

1) before secondary school 2) during secondary school 3) in your freshman year 4) later in college

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	30	5	9	6	6	8	6	6	28	7	17	16
2)	38	51	54	39	46	40	37	43	47	36	51	50
3)	7	17	24	30	31	27	28	26	23	39	13	20
4)	15	20	10	19	14	22	24	22		17	15	9

9) If such a change occurred in college, to what do you attribute it? Check the most important two or three:

1) courses dealing with religion 2) increased reading in religion 3) independence from parental ideas 4) increased thinking about religion and related problems 5) influence of friends 6) personal contact with faculty members 7) other

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)		20	18	15	13	10	15	20	20	78	15	30
2)		6	8	15	18	13	6	23	60	39	15	19
3)	33	26	16	17	31	28	44	25	20	21	23	30
4)	100	86	75	69	81	77	65	73	100	65	69	78
5)	33	13	40	17	31	37	40	9	60	34	30	35
6)			8	2	2	4	1	3	20		7	5
7)		6	8	20	8	10	14	6		4	7	5

10) Have you experienced any sudden resurgence of religious faith and interest:

1) in your adolescence 2) in college 3) no such experience or no answer

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	9	12	14	11	11	19	25	16	22	16	14	11
2)	36	27	25	47	34	36	31	35	20	30	10	22
3)	54	60	60	41	53	44	42	48	57	54	75	65

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11) Would you say that at the present time you:

1) are in substantial agreement with the religious tradition in which you were raised 2) partially agree with it but have important reservations 3) wholly reject the religious tradition in which you were raised

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	36	20	27	87	30	45	42	36	25	32	22	39
2)	59	63	51	10	52	42	46	45	31	54	47	37
3)	4	12	16	1	13	9	9	16	28	14	20	18

12) At the present time, with which of the following religious traditions are you formally affiliated:

1) Roman Catholicism 2) Eastern Orthodoxy 3) Protestantism 4) Judaism 5) Other 6) None

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	4	12	11	89	15	14	6	17	2	6	2	9
2)			2		1	1		2				1
3)	40	53	52	8	25	59	80	53	11	92	5	46
4)	18	5	9		35	7	2	3	17		47	7
5)		3	3		2	3	2	2	5		1	3
6)	36	25	19	1	19	13	8	20	60	2	39	32

13) In comparison with your classmates, your concern with religious affairs is, in general:

1) more intense 2) less intense 3) about the same

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	36	37	31	31	31	40	37	35	28	34	27	40
2)	9	17	17	6	18	13	8	14	8	6	19	20
3)	54	44	49	61	48	44	54	48	60	60	50	39

14) In comparison with your father, your concern with religious affairs is, in general:

1) more intense 2) less intense 3) about the same

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	18	32	31	42	29	40	32	27	31	32	27	31
2)	27	17	17	13	31	18	19	32	20	34	22	21
3)	50	50	47	42	35	39	45	31	48	34	47	43

15) In comparison with your mother, your concern with religious affairs is, in general:

1) more intense 2) less intense 3) about the same

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	22	34	22	24	22	25	18	14	25	18	16	21
2)	27	32	42	29	41	34	39	45	34	64	35	41
3)	50	31	34	44	35	39	41	38	40	18	48	36

16) Do you believe that the clergy should speak out from the pulpit on controversial political issues (e.g., disarmament, foreign aid, economic structure, recognition of Communist China):

1) yes 2) no

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	50	46	53	28	42	43	38	56	60	60	55	47
2)	50	46	44	70	55	54	59	40	34	40	39	48

17) Do you believe that the clergy should speak out from the pulpit on controversial issues in your local community:

1) yes 2) no

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	54	65	65	33	57	56	52	79	65	78	63	56
2)	45	31	32	65	40	41	44	18	31	22	33	38

18) Indicate your participation in a college religious fellowship (Newman Club, Hillel, etc.):

1) do not belong 2) inactive member 3) active member 4) club officer

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	95	74	74	83	70	75	63	76	94	86	86	76
2)		19	17	8	20	14	22	11		12	4	10
3)		3	5	2	6	6	8	9		2	7	9
4)		3	2	1	2	2	4	2	2		1	3

19) Do you feel that your views on religion in any way have tended to mark you off from your contemporaries, so that you sometimes feel embarrassed or isolated because of these views:

1) yes 2) no

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	9	13	11	14	15	17	16	13	25	14	17	16
2)	86	86	87	85	83	82	82	83	74	86	82	84

20) Do you believe in immortality, if this is taken to mean the continued existence of the individual soul as a surviving entity after the end of organic life:

1) yes 2) no

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	22	46	40	95	40	66	78	57	25	62	14	46
2)	59	46	52	3	53	28	17	33	65	22	80	46

21) In what (if any) religious traditions would you like to raise your children:

1) your own 2) another 3) none

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	77	74	79	96	76	85	87	75	42	88	67	72
2)	4	6	7	2	6	6	7	15	5	8	8	8
3)	9	13	11	1	14	5	3	7	48	2	22	14

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Poorer Schools and Anti-Communism

One of the most striking aspects of the poll is the tendency of poorer students to be more firmly anti-Communist than wealthier students. This tendency crystallizes in the near-identity of the five poorest schools in the survey (Howard, Indiana, South Carolina, Marquette, and Davidson, in that order) with the six schools most willing to go to war rather than surrender unconditionally to the Communists (Marquette, South Carolina, Indiana, Davidson, Yale and Howard). Yale is the only well-to-do school polled at which more than 70 per cent of the students would prefer war to surrender. While it is true that less affluent backgrounds tend to produce firm anti-Communists, the obverse statement (that the richest schools are the least anti-Communist) does not hold. The least anti-Communist school in the poll, Reed, ranks as average in family income.

22) Regarding the intensity of your concern with religion and politics (taking these terms in the broadest sense), would you say that you are:

1) equally concerned with both 2) more concerned with religion 3) more concerned with politics

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	40	20	29	36	33	33	39	45	31	42	26	32
2)	31	24	17	55	18	29	29	23	20	28	11	19
3)	27	53	51	7	47	37	29	29	48	30	60	47

23) Which form of suffrage do you feel would be most advantageous for the United States:

1) universal suffrage 2) suffrage for high school graduates only 3) suffrage for college graduates only

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	54	63	66	78	74	66	59	76	85	66	80	78
2)	31	19	22	12	11	21	29	13	5	18	7	12
3)	9	17	9	4	9	7	8	3	2	12	10	7

24) Which formal nomination criteria do you prefer:

1) Candidates chosen from populace at large 2) candidates chosen only from men with experience and education in the science of government

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	45	63	53	39	39	53	44	40	80	48	61	62
2)	50	36	45	58	58	43	53	55	14	50	35	34

25) With what political party are you affiliated, either in spirit or actual membership:

1) Republican 2) Democratic 3) Other 4) None

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	18	37	44	29	33	51	33	10	2	36	4	47
2)	50	29	26	35	36	27	35	52	54	26	69	27
3)	9		2	2	3	1	4	2	5	2	2	3
4)	22	31	26	31	24	19	26	31	37	34	22	21

26) Since you entered college, have your political views changed:

1) from liberal to more conservative 2) from conservative to more liberal 3) from liberal to more liberal 4) from conservative to more conservative 5) not at all

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	4	19	21	23	15	20	19	10	11	18	16	11
2)	31	50	29	22	27	22	28	21	22	36	13	36
3)	13	8	10	5	17	8	7	23	40	6	33	11
4)	9	6	10	6	6	18	14	1		8	1	9
5)	40	15	25	41	30	28	26	41	22	32	32	29

27) If your views have changed, what factors have influenced you? Check the two or three most important:

1) lectures and/or assigned reading in courses 2) influence of friends 3) personal contact with faculty members 4) increased independent reading 5) independence from parental ideas 6) increased thinking about political questions 7) other

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	46	65	47	37	53	41	32	33	27	20	36	27
2)	23	46	34	29	23	34	17	9	29	30	27	23
3)	7	16	11	4	9	10	8	9	8	6	6	7
4)	46	18	43	55	54	46	35	29	47	32	30	27
5)	7	14	8	13	12	9	12	7	5	12	10	14
6)	92	81	83	87	79	80	62	45	67	54	51	54
7)	15		4	4	4	3	3	2	5	4	4	2

28) Indicate your participation in a campus political club:

1) I do not belong 2) I am an inactive member 3) I am an active member 4) I am an officer

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	81	84	74	83	83	68	84	78	68	88	91	75
2)	4	5	12	10	7	13	8	10	14	6	7	8
3)	9	5	7	3	3	11	1	6	2	2		8
4)		3	4	1	2	6	2	2	8	2	1	4

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29) Indicate your views on the following political proposals for the United States, using the following gradations of viewpoint:

1) Definitely in favor 2) Somewhat in favor
3) Indifferent 4) Somewhat opposed 5) Definitely opposed

29a) Full socialization of all industries

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	4	1		1	3	1		3	14		7	2
2)	9	3	1	1	6	2	3	11	11	2	13	3
3)	4	3	1	4	3	3	2	10	5	4	7	4
4)	22	8	7	5	12	9	11	15	28	14	22	11
5)	54	82	89	85	71	82	80	54	37	78	50	78

29b) Socialization of only basic industries (steel, railroads, etc.)

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	18	10	3	4	11	4	3	10	20	6	19	6
2)	13	20	14	10	23	11	14	29	31	20	20	11
3)	4		2	6	5	5	6	12	2	2	7	7
4)	22	19	26	25	20	18	19	19	28	18	30	23
5)	31	50	53	51	37	59	53	21	14	52	20	49

29c) Socialization of the medical profession

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	36	3	5	3	13	5	3	24	34	8	29	7
2)	18	13	12	10	17	14	8	20	25	8	25	14
3)	4	15	7	5	6	5	3	6	2	2	7	7
4)		22	19	12	21	13	11	15	14	18	17	25
5)	36	44	53	66	39	60	70	29	17	62	20	43

29d) National health insurance

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	50	20	21	16	30	12	12	46	51	14	54	21
2)	13	27	22	26	29	25	22	28	28	30	32	23
3)	9	17	12	18	13	14	16	9	2	6	7	13
4)	9	17	21	20	12	16	17	3	2	24	4	26
5)	13	17	19	17	11	30	27	5	11	24	1	14

29e) Continued governmental projects on the order of the TVA

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	27	27	24	34	31	27	27	45	57	26	51	20
2)	36	20	29	29	28	30	35	30	25	24	32	25
3)		13	11	17	16	12	11	10	11	12	10	13
4)	13	22	18	11	11	12	11	4		18	5	25
5)	18	13	13	4	9	15	10	2	2	16		13

29f) Retention of Social Security in its present form:

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	31	36	29	33	34	28	28	29	28	38	47	34
2)	31	32	28	27	26	29	31	24	17	30	32	25
3)	22	10	17	15	12	12	17	17	22	10	14	17
4)	4	15	16	15	15	14	13	10	20	12	5	14
5)		3	6	6	8	14	6	9	5	8		6

29g) Right-to-work laws

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	27	32	38	35	41	47	38	52	31	44	44	32
2)	18	32	20	23	17	19	23	18	25	22	23	29
3)	9	12	15	19	18	14	19	13	14	18	14	12
4)	9	12	13	10	8	7	9	2	5	4	8	11
5)	27	8	9	9	7	9	4	4	20	4	8	11

29h) Turning over of TVA to a private company

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	9	8	12	7	6	13	8		2	8		8
2)	13	12	18	9	9	10	11	3	2	26	5	16
3)	13	20	21	25	19	24	26	17	11	22	23	24
4)	18	22	23	25	24	22	19	23	25	12	19	23
5)	36	32	22	30	36	27	31	48	54	28	51	24

29i) Repeal of anti-trust legislation

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	4	1	1	1	5	2	2	2		4	1	6
2)		3	7	7	5	8	8	5	2	4	2	5
3)	18	5	5	16	10	15	18	17	5		7	5
4)	18	22	18	15	18	21	20	8	22	18	8	24
5)	50	65	65	58	56	49	46	57	65	72	79	57

29j) Immediate unilateral suspension of atomic tests by the United States

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	54	12	3	2	10	4	3	12	42	12	17	8
2)	9	22	5	4	12	7	8	11	17	6	23	13
3)		5	2	6	4	5	4	6	5	2	4	8
4)	4	22	17	20	18	21	21	20	5	22	17	17
5)	27	37	70	65	52	59	58	42	25	56	33	51

29k) Federal aid to public secondary schools

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	50	53	46	29	46	33	31	64	68	38	76	31
2)	31	24	26	28	27	24	27	17	20	22	17	28
3)		1	6	9	7	7	4	3		4	1	6
4)	4	12	11	13	8	10	13	6	8	24	2	18
5)	9	8	7	17	8	23	21	3		8	1	13

30a) Federal aid to private colleges and universities:

1) Definitely in favor 2) Somewhat in favor
3) Indifferent 4) Somewhat opposed
5) Definitely opposed

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	27	29	24	41	48	22	22	40	37	42	72	30
2)	45	36	39	27	25	22	30	20	34	18	17	26
3)		1	7	4	5	8	5	6	2	2	7	10
4)	4	27	13	12	7	21	19	15	14	18	2	17
5)	13	5	13	13	11	24	20	12	8	14		13

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30b) Government wage and price controls to check inflation

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	22	19	13	19	25	15	14	28	11	16	26	5
2)	36	36	36	43	35	31	36	39	45	48	35	35
3)	4	13	7	11	8	10	10	8	14		13	13
4)	27	24	28	15	16	22	20	9	8	12	20	24
5)	4	5	12	9	10	18	16	5	14	18	2	19

30c) No government wage and price controls under any circumstances (save, perhaps, in time of war)

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	4	3	4	8	10	14	11	4	5	10	1	11
2)	22	13	21	12	9	17	17	7	8	18	8	16
3)	9	6	6	11	9	12	5	5	8	2	7	10
4)	22	31	32	29	25	23	23	23	34	24	22	28
5)	27	43	33	37	42	29	36	48	37	40	55	30

30d) Reduction of current unemployment by government action, even at the price of aggravating inflation

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	13	1	3	3	6	4	4	6	17	8	17	6
2)	31	29	17	22	19	23	16	23	37	12	35	25
3)	18	12	9	10	12	14	6	7	17	8	19	13
4)	13	43	43	34	29	28	36	31	17	36	11	33
5)	13	13	24	27	26	27	31	20	5	30	13	19

30e) Reduction of current inflation, even at the price of unrelieved unemployment:

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	9	3	3	1	6	6	3	3		2	1	5
2)	9	22	19	14	14	15	17	5	11	12	8	12
3)	27	17	13	14	17	18	11	10	20	18	14	16
4)	22	34	40	40	31	34	36	34	34	32	33	45
5)	18	20	21	27	25	21	26	32	31	30	38	18

30f) Recognition of Communist China by the United States and its admission to the United Nations

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	36	41	13	4	20	7	5	13	60	4	35	14
2)	22	27	19	6	17	10	8	20	22	20	35	20
3)	13	8	11	7	5	7	5	13	2	4	4	13
4)		6	16	12	14	16	15	11	2	20	8	20
5)	22	15	36	69	38	56	62	34	8	46	14	30

30g) Retention of American economic and non-military technical aid to other countries at about the present levels

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	13	25	26	25	23	17	15	17	5	14	30	20
2)	45	27	28	33	34	32	29	32	54	20	33	32
3)		15	9	9	7	10	8	11	17	2	7	12
4)	27	20	24	20	19	23	26	19	11	30	13	18
5)	9	10	7	8	10	13	16	9	8	26	10	13

30h) Marked reduction in American economic and non-military technical aid to other countries from the present levels

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)		1	2	7	8	8	12	6	5	18		7
2)	4	8	6	15	11	18	22	16	5	28	4	11
3)		6	4	7	5	9	5	9	11	2	4	8
4)	18	22	21	26	23	22	26	24	20	20	13	22
5)	68	58	62	43	46	37	29	35	54	26	76	48

30i) Marked increase in American economic and non-military aid to other countries from the present levels (doubling it or more)

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	22	24	17	6	15	9	3	8	37	6	30	11
2)	36	27	24	16	18	13	10	14	20	4	29	13
3)	4	10	11	10	11	11	6	13	17	6	5	16
4)		19	23	32	22	24	18	21	11	18	22	25
5)	27	19	21	32	28	39	55	33	11	60	7	30

30j) Federal financial assistance to American cultural activities to the extent of maintaining tax-supported opera, ballet, repertory theaters, orchestras, galleries, poetry fellowships, etc.

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	36	20	13	11	22	13	11	27	22	10	35	10
2)	36	29	28	18	25	16	17	26	48	22	29	20
3)	4	13	9	15	13	14	4	12	5	10	8	15
4)	13	8	18	18	14	13	14	12	8	10	22	21
5)	4	27	28	35	20	40	46	14	11	40	4	29

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Faith on the Campus

A thorough survey of U. S. colleges leaves the distinct impression of a firm and expansive student Catholicism, a weakening Protestantism, and a Judaism in decay

A majority of students at every college polled by the Educational Reviewer except Marquette have experienced, at one time or another, a significant reaction against the religious tradition in which they were raised. Nearly half of these reactions against religion began after the students went to college: two of the three major American faiths — Protestantism and Judaism — have lost more than one-fifth of their student communicants as a result of outright apostasy. The Roman Catholic Church has lost very few of its adherents through apostasy, and on a number of predominantly Protestant campuses—ranging in character from Yale and Davidson to Howard and Indiana — the Roman Church has apparently won a significant number of converts.

THE LARGE-SCALE defections from Protestantism and Judaism are due both to lack of firm religious upbringing and to intellectual tendencies at liberal arts colleges. At only one school polled — Marquette — do a majority (67 per cent) of the students regard their religious upbringing as having had a "very marked" influence on them. Minorities at every other school — ranging from a low of 16 per cent at Yale to a high of 35 per cent at Davidson — regard their background as having been a "very marked" influence. At all of the non-Catholic schools — ranging from 10 per cent at Davidson to 34 per cent at Boston University and 50 per cent at Sarah Lawrence — a substantial percentage of students describe their religious upbringing as having had a "slight" influence or "none at all." (At Marquette the corresponding figure is 3 per cent.) Although more than 97 per cent of all the students polled have had some form of religious training, less than three-tenths think their upbringing has had a "very marked" effect on their lives.

While slightly more than half of the student reactions against religion occurred before college (mostly during secondary school), a significant minority (more than 40 per cent overall) have experienced an anti-religious rebellion while at college. And of these campus rebellions, majorities at every college except Williams, Brandeis, and Sarah Lawrence rebelled in their freshman year.

Freshmen Reject Faith

At Reed, apparently, a student will reject his religion during freshman year or before, or not at all. Sixty per cent of all Reed students have experienced a religious rebellion; of these, 48 per cent rebelled in secondary school, 29 per cent rebelled *before* secondary school (by far the largest percentage in the poll, rivalled only by Brandeis' 18 per cent pre-secondary rebellion rate), and all the remaining students tested did so in their freshman year at Reed.

The liberal arts faculty seems to be a smaller factor in religious than in political shifts. Less than 4 per cent of those affected in college were affected by "personal contact with faculty members"; 18 per cent were influenced by courses dealing with religion. On the other hand, nearly a third of the students who have rebelled were influenced by friends at college, and 29 per cent list "independence from parental ideas" as a factor. Fourteen per cent list "increased reading in religion" as a significant cause in their turn from religion.

THE ONLY SCHOOL at which courses dealing with religion play a dominant role in student "rebellion" is Davidson — one of the few schools in the survey affiliated with a specific church (the Presbyterian). An enormous 78 per cent of Davidson students who have reacted against their religion while at college list "courses dealing with religion" as a cause (its nearest competitor is Stanford, where 30 per cent list religious courses as a reason). And of the 82 per cent of Davidson undergraduates who have experienced an anti-religious reaction (itself the largest percentage of any college in the poll), 56 per cent say that "significant doubt began" while they were at college, 39 per cent in the freshman year alone. Despite its Presbyterian affiliation, then, Davidson scarcely appears to be conducive to retention of religious faith.

In addition, the wording of one pivotal question may tend to understate the importance of college in the students' religious beliefs: "If such a reaction [*i.e.*, any religious reaction] did occur, when did significant doubt *begin?*" [italics added] It is possible that a considerable number of students' earlier doubts may have culminated, crystallized, and turned into conviction at college, even though it would be technically true to say that

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their doubts *began* in secondary school or earlier. The extent of this aspect of college's effect on religion is not measured by the Harvard poll.

Thus it is demonstrable that liberal arts colleges, with the exception of Catholic-oriented colleges, exercise a generally destructive influence on students' religious convictions. Seventy-four per cent of Williams students, for example, were raised as Protestants; 53 per cent of its students remain "formally affiliated" with Protestant churches (a figure which, as we shall see later, does not begin to signify the number of students who have abandoned basic Christian dogma); roughly 28 per cent of Williams' Protestant students, then, have formally apostasized. At Yale, the apostasy rate among Protestants is just under 20 per cent; at Boston University, over 25 per cent; at the large, state-supported University of Indiana, about 18 per cent; at Howard, over 25 per cent; at Stanford, 33 per cent; at Brandeis (where there are few Protestants), 50 per cent; at Reed, 72 per cent; even at South Carolina, about 12 per cent of the Protestant-raised students have formally apostasized. At Davidson, the only Protestant-affiliated school tested, few students have rejected their faith outright, notwithstanding the frequency of student rebellion against religion. Ninety-four per cent of Davidson students were raised in a Protestant tradition; 92 per cent remain affiliated with Protestant churches. And the 2 per cent loss, when juxtaposed with a corresponding gain among Roman Catholic students (from 4 to 6 per cent), may indicate that about 2 per cent of Davidson's students have converted from Presbyterianism to Catholicism without parental influence.

THE ONE SCHOOL in the poll where Protestant students are unlikely to apostasize or convert is Catholic Marquette. Protestants have actually increased in number from 7 to 8 per cent of the Marquette student body, apparently at a minor cost to the Catholic majority (which has fallen slightly from 91 to 90 per cent). Slightly more than one per cent of the student body is unaffiliated with any church, and this tiny figure is made up mostly of students of Jewish origin.

The defections among students of Judaic background are even more striking than those of the Protestants.

AT EVERY COLLEGE in the survey but one (South Carolina), the number of Jewish students has decreased markedly, *vis-a-vis* the number of students raised in the Jewish religious tradition; and, even considering those who have not formally apostasized, Judaism is increasingly regarded as a vague "folk tradition," rather than as a genuine faith. Only at large state-supported schools, like Indiana and South Carolina, are Jews likely to continue to consider themselves Jewish: at Indiana, they have decreased from 8 to 7 per cent of the student body, and at South Carolina the Jewish population has remained steady at 2 per cent. At Boston University, where 42 per cent of the student body comes from a Judaic background, Jews have also suffered comparatively minor losses: 36 per cent still are affiliated with the church of their childhood.

Jewish Apostasy at Brandeis

At other colleges polled by the Educational Reviewer, formal defection from Judaism is widespread. For example, at Sarah Lawrence, where just over 10 per cent of Protestant students have rejected their faith, over 55 per cent of Jewish-raised students have apostasized; at Williams, the Jewish apostasy rate is 49 per cent; at Yale, about 25 per cent; at Marquette (where the number of students from a Judaic background is tiny), 100 per cent; at predominantly Negro Howard, slightly more than 10 per cent; at Stanford, 15 per cent; at Reed, 35 per cent; and even at predominantly Jewish Brandeis, 37 per cent of Jewish-raised students are no longer formally affiliated with Judaism.

Moreover, the latter figure by no means records the extent of the debilitating effect which even a liberal arts college with a large Jewish majority has on its Jewish students. For even though 63 per cent of Brandeis' Jews remain affiliated with the religion of their upbringing, only 31 per cent consider that they "profess Judaism as a religion, agreeing wholly or substantially with its beliefs and traditions." Twenty-nine per cent of Brandeis' Jewish-raised students "tend to identify or associate with Jewish people more than Gentiles, regardless of the religious beliefs of the individuals involved, and therefore think of [themselves] as Jewish" — which, of course, constitutes a conception of Jewishness based mainly on race. Another 26 per cent "consider [themselves] Jewish exclusively because their parents consider themselves Jewish. And 18 per cent of the Jews of Brandeis consider themselves Jewish only in this sense: "that you have interest in certain cultural features common to Jewish tradition (*e.g.*, music, cuisine, literature)" — a still more limited conception of Jewishness as the vestige of a nationality, similar to the sense in which an American of Irish origin might regard the wearing of the green on St. Patrick's Day.

Among all the campuses polled, only at Stanford and Howard do majorities of Jewish-raised students still profess Judaism as a religion (68 and 60 per cent, respectively). Despite its comparatively large proportion of religious Jews, however, Stanford is the only school in the poll where an appreciable number (7 per cent) of students from Judaic backgrounds "totally reject" their Judaism. At Boston University, where only 30 per cent of a large Jewish minority still profess the religion in which they were raised, barely one per cent are willing to abandon Judaism entirely; at Brandeis none of the students tested rejects completely his Judaism.

Christianity on the Campus

More than seven-tenths of all students tested by the Educational Reviewer profess "belief in some form of Christianity"— that is, were raised as Christians and have neither formally apostasized nor abandoned totally the tenets of Christianity. But what are the theological beliefs of that vast majority of collegians willing to designate themselves as "Christian"?

1. Vast numbers of students who consider themselves Christians reject a central belief of Christianity — "the idea of God becoming flesh." At only four colleges in the poll — Marquette (94 per cent), South Carolina (67 per cent), Indiana (56 per cent), and Howard (51 per cent) — do majorities of Christians accept the

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concept of God becoming flesh. At Davidson College — a Southern school affiliated with Presbyterianism — half of the student body rejects this, the central tenet of Christianity! Fifty per cent of Boston University's Christians reject this same tenet; even this figure is made possible only by the fact that well over a third of the University's Christians are Roman Catholics. At Sarah Lawrence, where the "apostasy rate" among Protestant-raised students is misleadingly small, only 30 per cent of the remaining Christian students accept the idea of God becoming flesh. At Williams, the figure is 45 per cent; at Yale, 36 per cent; at Stanford, 49 per cent; at Reed, a meager 25 per cent. At every school where Protestant students predominate over Catholic students, with the sole exception of South Carolina, over 40 per cent of the self-designated Christian students reject the central belief of Christianity (a figure which does not take into account the large numbers of students who have formally apostasized). And even at South Carolina, skepticism on this question is shared by a third of the student body.

2. Even fewer students are willing to say: "I believe literally in the Gospel account of Jesus's resurrection as an historical event which occurred as concretely as Lincoln's assassination; unless God had miraculously intervened, I believe the event could have been scientifically documented (by a camera placed outside the tomb)." At every college polled except Sarah Lawrence, fewer Christian students are willing to accept the Resurrection as an event in time and space than are willing to accept the general concept of God becoming flesh. At Reed, although 25 per cent accept the proposition of Christ's divinity, none of the students tested believes that the Resurrection happened; at Williams, the corresponding figures are 45 per cent and 25 per cent; at Yale, 36 per cent and 28 per cent; at Boston University, 50 per cent and 39 per cent; at Indiana, 56 per cent and 51 per cent; at Stanford, 49 per cent and 40 per cent; at South Carolina, 67 per cent and 55 per cent; at Howard, 51 per cent and 38 per cent; even at Marquette, 94 per cent and 84 per cent. At Davidson, the comparison between frequency of belief in the Resurrection and in Christ's divinity is as striking as the latter figure (50 per cent) is alone. At this, a Christian-affiliated school located squarely in Christian-oriented North Carolina, less than 21 per cent of the student body believes that Christ was resurrected. Even at unabashedly secular campuses like Williams, Sarah Lawrence, and Yale, larger percentages of Christian students accept this tenet than at Presbyterian-supported Davidson.

General Religious Attitudes

Some of the questions on the poll (*e.g.*, "Is God all-powerful?") are applicable to both the major Western faiths, and serve as an index of general religious attitudes on the twelve campuses. One such question involves the immortality of the human soul: "Do you believe in immortality, if this is taken to mean the continued existence of the individual soul as a surviving entity after the end of organic life?" The results seem to indicate a gradation of belief in immortality, with Catholic students most likely to accept the concept and Jewish students least likely to accept it. Ninety-five per cent of Marquette students believe in immortality, 3 per cent do not believe in it (the rest are, apparently, agnostic on the question); at predominantly Jewish Brandeis, the corresponding figures are 15 per cent and 81 per cent. Majorities believing in immortality are also found at South Carolina (78 per cent), Indiana (67 per cent), and Davidson (62 per cent). Williams (47 per cent) and Stanford (46 per cent) are split down the middle on the question; four other colleges besides Brandeis, all privately endowed and politically liberal, and all containing sizable Jewish minorities, record majorities who disbelieve in immortality. Reed and Sarah Lawrence lead the way with 66 per cent and 59 per cent, respectively; at Yale and Boston University the figures of disbelief are 53 per cent and 54 per cent. Two schools, Davidson (16 per cent) and Sarah Lawrence (18 per cent), contain substantial minorities undecided on the question; fewer students affirm a belief in immortality of the soul at Sarah Lawrence (23 per cent) than at any school tested. The percentage breakdown of all students: 58 per cent believe, 36 per cent disbelieve.

A legitimate consensus (83 per cent) of the students in the poll believe in a Divine Presence: at only one campus (Reed) do atheists and agnostics together constitute a majority. But what do liberal arts students mean when they say "God"? About three-eighths will agree with the traditional Christian formulation: "There is an immensely wise, omnipotent, three-person God Who created the universe and Who maintains an active concern for human affairs." Only at Marquette is there a consensus (91 per cent) in favor of this familiar position. South Carolina is the only other campus where the proposition achieves a majority (a bare 51 per cent); at large, state-supported, and predominantly Protestant Indiana, the figure is 43 per cent; at Howard, where 85 per cent were raised in some form of Christianity, 38 per cent; at Presbyterian-supported Davidson, 34 per cent; Yale (with a 75 per cent Christian background), 20 per cent; Boston University, 18 per cent; Sarah Lawrence, 14 per cent; and at Reed, not a single student polled believes in the traditional Christian formulation of the nature of God!

EVEN MORE STRIKING is the near-absence of belief in a description of the Deity acceptable both to Unitarianism and Judaism: "There is a God precisely as described [in the Christian formulation above] except that He is absolutely One and in no sense possesses trinitarian nature." At Brandeis, where three-quarters of the student body were raised in the Jewish faith, precisely 6 per cent of all students polled agree with the Judaic conception of a benevolent, omnipotent one-person God! On no campus do more than 9 per cent of the student body (the figure at Reed) accept this postulation of God's nature. Fewer than 5 per cent of the entire sampling accept the proposition, despite the fact that 16 per cent of the students tested were raised as Jews and that an unspecified (but probably substantial) minority were raised as Unitarians and Universalists. At Sarah Lawrence, where 41 per cent of the student body come from a Judaic background, and probably quite a few more from Unitarian homes, not a single student tested agrees to a concept of God acceptable to both Jews and Unitarians!

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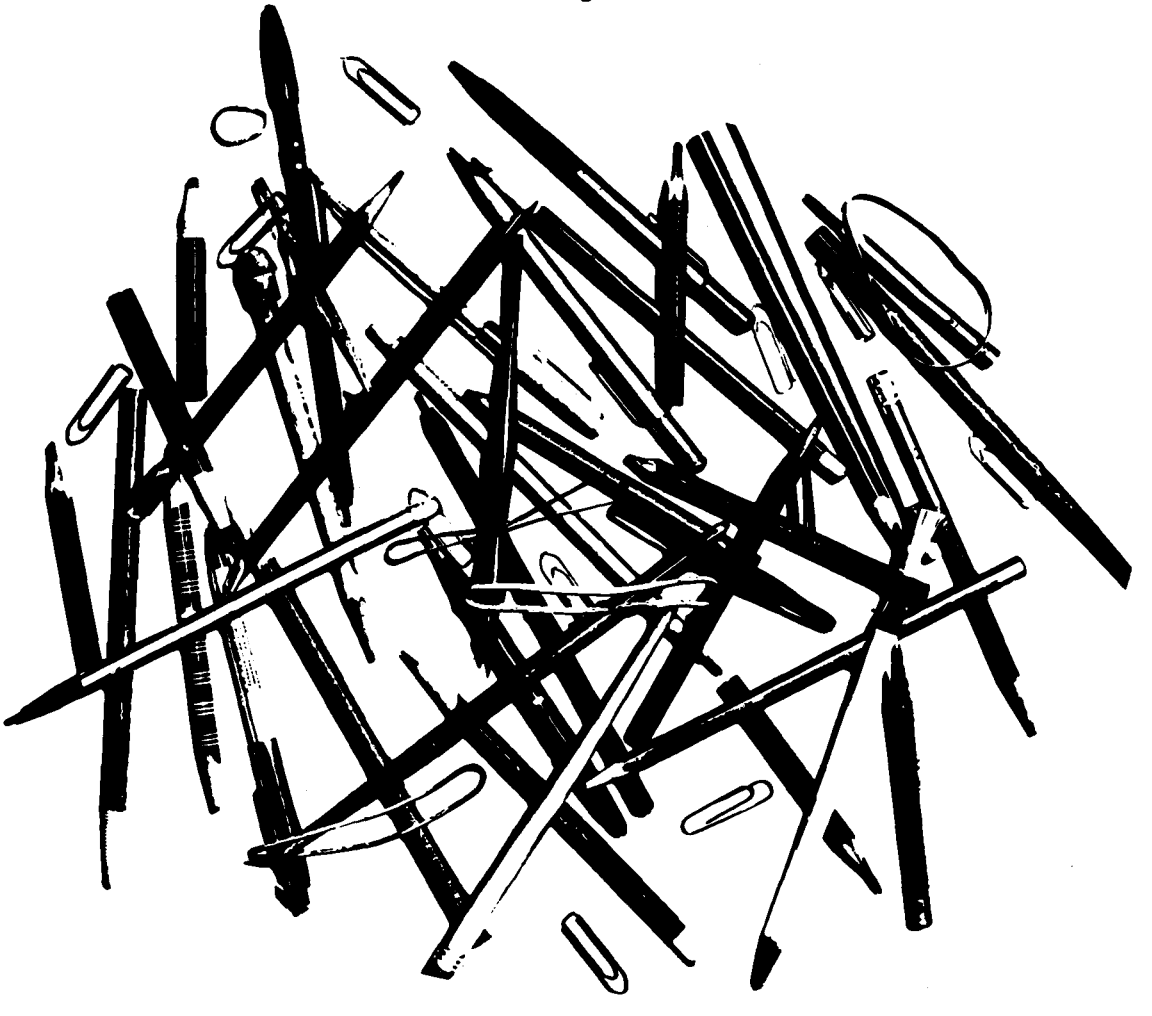
A "Mighty Spiritual Presence"

The second most sizable proportion of students opt for the following conception of the Deity: "I believe in a God about Whom nothing definite can be affirmed except that I sometimes sense Him as a mighty 'spiritual presence' permeating all mankind and nature." Impressive minorities at ten of the twelve colleges (except Marquette and Reed, where consensuses have arrived at more positive formulations of Divine existence or nonexistence) accept this definition; 22 per cent of all students tested accept it (including nearly 40 per cent of the affiliated Protestants at Davidson). Since "nothing can be affirmed" about this God, apart from the essentials of His existence, it is plain that this category, together with the fourth and final definition of Divinity (a throwback to the philosophy of Spinoza), constitutes a conception of God which has no bearing on a student's moral conduct; that the 34 per cent of liberal arts students who accept these definitions believe in a God that literally means nothing. With this in mind, it becomes clear that the "consensus" figure of 83 per cent who believe in a Divine Presence has little meaning; that barely more than 40 per cent of all students tested affirm a God Who is capable of exercising an effect on the course of their lives; that a sizable portion of students who believe in such a God were raised as Roman Catholics; that a significant, but disproportionately small, number of such students were raised as Protestants; and that remarkably few of them were raised as Jews.

Conclusions

1. American liberal arts colleges, with the sole exception of Roman Catholic colleges, tend to debilitate the religious convictions of their students.
2. Students raised as Roman Catholics are far more likely to retain their faith while at college than students raised as Protestants or as Jews.
3. Protestant students are most likely to retain their faith if sent to predominantly Roman Catholic colleges.
4. Protestant students are most likely to apostasize if sent to privately endowed secular colleges.
5. Protestant students are least likely to retain the essentials of their faith if sent to Protestant-affiliated colleges with particular emphasis on courses in religion, although it is true that they are unlikely to apostasize formally at such schools.
6. Students raised as Catholics are least likely to retain their faith at small, privately endowed colleges at which the vast majority of the student body is Protestant and Jewish.
7. Students raised as Jews tend to abandon the basic tenets of their faith, regardless of what kind of college they attend.
8. The Roman Catholic Church is winning significant numbers of converts, particularly at schools with large Protestant majorities.
9. Significant numbers of American Negro college students are converting to Roman Catholicism while at college.
10. Although a substantial majority of liberal arts students believe in the immortality of the human soul, only a minority affirm the existence of a God capable of exercising an effect on their lives.



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THE QUESTIONNAIRE: Part II

LEGEND:

SL = *Sarah Lawrence College;* **Wms** = *Williams College;* **Yale** = *Yale University;* **Marq** = *Marquette University;* **BU** = *Boston University;* **Ind** = *Indiana University;* **SC** = *University of South Carolina;* **Hwd** = *Howard University;* **Reed** = *Reed College;* **Dav** = *Davidson College;* **Bran** = *Brandeis University;* **Stan** = *Stanford University.*

All fractional percentiles have been dropped (40.2% = 40%, 0.5 % = 0, etc.).

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31) Do you think the concept of the national state has become so dangerously anachronistic that the U.S. should take the risks involved in surrendering some of her sovereignty in a serious attempt at achieving a strong international federation or world government:

1) yes 2) no 3) indifferent

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	40	44	39	14	27	19	16	18	65	24	57	45
2)	36	46	54	74	56	69	72	61	20	62	32	40
3)	4	5	5	10	11	8	6	13	8	12	8	10

32) If the United States should find itself in such a position that all other alternatives were closed save a world war with the Soviet Union OR surrender to the Soviet Union, would you favor:

1) war 2) surrender

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	45	58	78	95	77	89	94	72	25	82	32	63
2)	45	39	16	3	17	7	4	21	60	14	48	27

33) Check which of the below are your main regular source or sources of political news, information, and comment:

1) *Time* 2) *Newsweek* 3) *US News and World Report* 4) *Life* 5) *The Reporter* 6) *The Nation* or *The New Republic* 7) *National Review* 8) *New York Times* 9) Other

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	36	65	76	68	56	70	49	61	40	60	51	67
2)	27	15	27	43	33	45	45	31	34	30	22	26
3)	13	19	24	25	26	35	33	20	11	52	7	23
4)	18	39	31	42	39	50	52	38	8	56	19	20
5)	9	3	7	1	9	6		8	20	4	11	9
6)	9	13	5	2	9	6	1	5	31	10	22	14
7)		3	6	4	7	9	4	1		10	7	8
8)	72	89	87	13	49	16	14	47	60	6	75	62
9)	27	13	21	31	28	34	36	37	25	42	27	26

34) Do you think a film should ever not be shown at a commercial theater or over television if certain religious or ethnic groups formally object to it (e.g., the attitude of some Catholics toward Martin Luther, some Jews toward Oliver Twist, the NAACP toward Birth of a Nation, the White Citizens Councils toward The Defiant Ones, widespread objections to some uncensored foreign or American films such as Forever Amber, Tobacco Road, or The Moon Is Blue):

1) no film should be suppressed under any of these circumstances 2) under certain but not all of the above circumstances 3) whenever a certain substantial religious or racial group does not want a film shown, it should not be shown

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	81	79	71	24	69	62	56	63	94	66	72	78
2)	18	20	27	70	26	34	39	33	5	30	23	19
3)	1			4	2	1	2	1		2	2	1

35) Check which of the following four attitudes most nearly corresponds to your own:

1) the present two-party system is satisfactory on the whole and should be essentially retained 2) The present party structure should be altered so that much sharper lines could be drawn between the two political parties, one being definitely and unambiguously the more conservative, and the other being definitely and unambiguously the more radical 3) I would support the founding of a third party that would represent "the right" more than either the Republicans or Democrats do at present 4) I would support the founding of a third party that would represent "the left" more than either the Republicans or Democrats do at present

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	40	48	67	77	56	68	59	64	45	66	51	64
2)	27	41	24	14	26	19	25	16	25	24	35	23
3)	4	3	3	3	5	5	9	5		4		4
4)	22	5	2	1	8	3	1	8	17	2	11	4

36) I do not believe a member of the Communist Party should be permitted to hold a teaching position in any American college or university:

1) agree 2) disagree

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	22	24	40	83	56	72	80	48	11	44	20	34
2)	72	74	58	15	42	25	17	45	80	54	79	63

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37) I do not believe a member of the Socialist Party should be permitted to teach citizenship courses in public high schools:

1) agree 2) disagree

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	27	46	40	78	51	62	78	52	11	48	20	30
2)	68	53	56	18	45	35	18	43	80	50	79	67

38) I do not believe any specific religious faith or the denial of religious faith should be discussed in the public schools:

1) agree 2) disagree

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	22	36	37	58	44	50	58	56	28	26	48	38
2)	59	62	59	39	52	47	39	39	60	70	47	59

39a) Indicate the political party for which your mother has voted most frequently since 1932:

1) Republican 2) Democratic 3 Other

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	50	81	66	44	43	60	27	18	20	42	13	60
2)	45	17	27	46	51	34	65	59	68	52	79	32
3)		1			1	1		2				

39b) Indicate the political party for which your father has voted most frequently since 1932:

1) Republican 2) Democratic 3 Other

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	50	70	56	45	46	55	29	20	11	40	8	62
2)	45	27	36	46	46	38	64	57	77	54	83	32
3)		1	1		1	1		2				

40) Do you feel that regilious beliefs are among the central issues in the conflict between the Soviet sphere and the West:

1) yes 2) no

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	13	22	23	53	18	25	30	17	5	28	8	22
2)	81	77	72	42	78	71	67	76	88	66	85	71

41) Of which of the following sexual practices do you disapprove because of your religious beliefs; i.e., do you find them objectionable not on secular grounds, but because of beliefs about God's commandments:

1) birth control 2) premarital intercourse
3) extramarital intercourse 4) divorce
5) homosexuality 6) legalized abortion
7) none of the above

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)		6	5	86	10	12	9	10		2	1	6
2)	9	25	18	88	31	44	47	24	2	30	8	26
3)	31	53	38	88	51	65	73	51	11	60	14	48
4)		19	15	87	19	31	31	20		16	4	25
5)		27	23	85	40	55	56	43	11	44	20	33
6)		15	18	89	24	36	28	22		20	7	18
7)	68	43	54	3	36	19	15	25	82	26	70	45

42) Would you object to legalized euthanasia (mercy killing) on religious grounds:

1) yes 2) no

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	13	22	27	86	39	43	42	38	20	26	16	30
2)	81	75	67	10	56	54	54	54	68	70	80	66

43) How many years did you attend Sunday School:

1) none 2) 1-5 years 3) 5-10 years 4) more

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	18	15	15	62	13	12	2	6	20		7	8
2)	36	24	31	9	35	17	11	18	42		54	30
3)	40	46	38	8	34	35	23	37	20	40	27	40
4)		13	13	15	14	33	59	33	11	56	8	18

44) Did you ever teach Sunday School:

1) yes 2) no

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	9	12	9	5	16	26	37	36	14	34	8	13
2)	86	86	88	89	82	72	60	59	82	64	89	83

45) Do you approve of banning books because they conflict with beliefs of particular organized religions:

1) yes 2) no

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)		1	1	17	1	3	3	2				1
2)	95	96	98	80	95	95	94	94	94	98	100	98

46) Indicate the frequency of your religious reading, using the following gradations:

1) frequently 2) occasionally 3) never

46a) the Bible

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	22	6	9	13	14	15	24	18	14	18	14	13
2)	68	67	70	71	60	73	64	67	74	74	67	67
3)	4	22	14	13	20	9	8	8	2	4	17	17

46b) early theologians such as Augustine, Luther, Maimonides

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	4	6	3	5	4	2	2	3	2	8	2	7
2)	54	46	48	55	41	32	32	34	71	48	57	58
3)	31	43	42	37	47	59	61	51	14	36	36	31

46c) contemporary theologians such as Niebuhr, Maritain, Buber

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	9	15	7	6	3	2	4	3	17	18	7	8
2)	36	39	34	34	24	23	15	18	42	56	33	43
3)	45	39	51	57	61	67	73	67	31	18	52	43

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46d) theologians now at your college

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)			4	19	4	1	1	3		8	4	4
2)	22	25	23	45	17	17	13	22	2	22	11	28
3)	59	65	62	32	68	73	79	63	80	56	76	61

46e) religious newspapers and magazines such as Christian Century, Commonweal, Commentary

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)		1	4	23	7	9	8	9	2	6	4	5
2)	22	20	20	52	28	43	46	45	28	24	41	32
3)	68	74	66	22	56	43	42	35	54	62	50	57

46f) articles in secular magazines

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	9	22	26	30	24	24	17	25	11	32	20	19
2)	31	50	47	54	44	47	59	45	65	50	54	51
3)	40	24	21	13	24	24	19	22	11	10	20	24

46g) "popular" religious writers such as Fulton Sheen, N.V. Peale, J. Liebman

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)			2	12	4	9	7	9	5	4	2	1
2)	31	24	27	60	36	52	46	45	17	40	16	30
3)	59	70	63	24	51	34	42	36	62	48	75	63

47) Does the practice of religion at college differ from your practice of religion at home:

1) yes 2) no

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	31	72	54	44	48	62	50	43	25	70	32	47
2)	54	27	42	53	45	36	45	50	62	28	61	50

48) Check any appropriate aspects of this difference:

1) I attend services more regularly at college 2) I attend services more regularly at home 3) I read more about religion here 4) I am more generally observant here 5) I am more generally observant at home 6) I think more about religion here 7) I think more about religion at home 8) other differences, please specify 9) there is no difference

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)		34	8	24	6	8	11	12	11	17	18	14
2)	22	19	29	5	20	37	77	51	88	68	45	62
3)	4	32	22	24	19	19	25	34	33	71	18	35
4)	9	24	15	21	16	22	31	26	11	31	13	20
5)	13	10	6	3	12	13	27	21	11	34	36	18
6)	22	31	28	25	27	33	44	34	22	48	50	35
7)	4	1	2	3	5	9	22	21		11	9	7
8)		6	1	1	3	2	5	9	11	5	4	4
9)	54	27	42	53	45	36	45	50	62	28	61	58

49) Below are four very brief, rough statements of various attitudes toward "the Church," that is, toward religion. Check the one that most nearly approximates your views:

1) The Church is the one sure and infallible foundation of civilized life. Every member of society ought to be educated in it and required to support it. 2) On the whole, the Church stands for the best in human life, although certain minor errors and shortcomings are necessarily apparent in it, as in all human institutions. 3) While the intentions of most individual Church members are no doubt good, the total influence of the Church may be on the whole harmful. I do not feel I can give it my active support. 4) The Church is a stronghold of much that is unwholesome and dangerous to human welfare. As far as I am concerned, the sooner it declines, the better.

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	4	6	3	61	5	10	8	9			1	7
2)	50	67	73	33	62	74	81	75	40	84	42	64
3)	13	19	15	1	20	8	6	9	34	10	30	20
4)	4	3	2		4	2		2	14	4	16	2

Tastes in Periodicals

The most obvious fact apparent from the question on periodical reading habits is the widespread popularity of the Luce publications, and particularly of *Time*. At only one school in the poll is *Time not* the most frequently-read magazine (at South Carolina, *Life* noses it out). *Time* is most popular at Yale (76 per cent read it), and least popular at Sarah Lawrence (36 per cent). *Time* out-circulates its chief rival, *Newsweek*, at every campus tested, and *Newsweek* approaches *Time's* figure only at South Carolina, Reed, and Sarah Lawrence (the third-ranking *U.S. News and World Report* comes close only at Davidson).

Among the intellectual weeklies, liberal magazines are fairly popular. The *Reporter*, for example, outdraws the conservative *National Review* at seven of the twelve campuses tested, with one (Williams) registering a toss-up. The *Reporter* wins, by varying margins, at Sarah Lawrence, Yale, Boston University, Howard, Reed, Brandeis, and Stanford; *National Review* holds the upper hand at Marquette, Indiana, South Carolina, and Davidson. At only two colleges, (Marquette and South Carolina) does *National Review* (which is the only intellectual fortnightly of the right) outdraw the three major liberal publications (the *Reporter*, *The Nation*, and *The New Republic*) combined. *National Review* reaches its widest audience at Davidson; the three liberal weeklies all record their highest proportional readership at politically conscious Reed.

50) Would you have any objection to the election as President of the United States of (check all appropriate):

1) a Roman Catholic 2) a Protestant 3) a Jew 4) an atheist or agnostic

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	4	6	7	5	8	9	11	12	5	16	1	5
2)			1	4	3	2	3	8		4	1	2
3)		6	8	7	8	15	23	10		24	1	7
4)	13	20	23	68	34	53	68	45	2	52	8	21

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51) Below are four very brief, rough statements of various attitudes toward "the person of Christ"; check the one that most nearly approximates your views:

1) Christ should be regarded as divine: that is, the Word made flesh, the absolutely unique incarnation of the Godhead. 2) Christ should be regarded only at a very great prophet or teacher, much as Mohammedans accept Mohammed, or as the Confucians accept Confucius. 3) In all probability Christ never lived at all, but is purely a mythical figure. 4) Another view

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	13	31	29	94	25	58	68	53	8	40	5	39
2)	59	51	47	2	58	30	18	35	77	34	73	42
3)	4	3	1		3	3	1	1		6	1	3
4)	13	10	13	1	7	6	5	2	11	8	13	9

52) Would you have any objections to marrying:

1) a Roman Catholic 2) a Protestant 3) a Reform Jew 4) an Orthodox Jew 5) an atheist or agnostic

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	54	60	53	4	55	53	51	27	57	72	58	45
2)	13	8	7	68	22	10	3	6	17		33	10
3)	9	34	30	77	19	44	50	16	8	54	2	36
4)	54	60	52	80	39	63	72	32	28	70	27	53
5)	13	24	28	88	34	60	66	47	5	52	17	33

53) If you have any reservations about marrying into one of the faiths indicated above, what would you say are your reasons (check all that are appropriate):

1) dislike of certain doctrines in this other faith 2) doctrinal restrictions in my own faith 3) parental reaction 4) reaction of my friends 5) dislike of people I have met in this other faith 6) fear of "mixed marriages" in general 7) problems of children's religious education 8) jeopardizing of my career 9) other

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	69	74	60	43	66	70	68	49	59	81	63	53
2)	15	11	7	67	15	17	17	17	4	7	18	11
3)	15	18	27	29	43	30	25	10	13	26	38	34
4)		14	15	11	13	11	14	4	4	23	6	10
5)		9	21	3	8	12	10	4		11	6	12
6)	23	41	32	68	38	41	41	13	27	35	26	36
7)	61	74	76	87	70	80	83	66	59	78	65	75
8)		7	11	3	5	3	6	2		7	4	6
9)	23	7	10	8	9	6	7	7	22	4	18	9

54) Which of the following four designations most nearly describes your political temperament:

1) conservative 2) radical 3) moderate liberal 4) politically indifferent

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	18	36	37	31	24	38	39	8	11	44	7	37
2)	13	5	3	1	6	2	3	8	20		17	5
3)	54	53	47	49	57	48	45	61	57	34	66	45
4)	9	3	9	16	8	8	8	17	5	18	5	8

Religion as a "Good Thing"

Despite the frequency of apostasy and heresy among the students polled, a vast majority plan to raise their children in the religious faith of their own youth. Substantial majorities at every school except Reed, ranging from 67 per cent at Brandeis to 96 per cent at Marquette, will teach their children to adhere to the religious traditions in which they were raised, regardless of their own doubts as to their truth. In addition, a significant number of students (8 per cent) will raise their offspring in a faith other than the one in which they themselves were raised. Of all students polled, only 10 per cent will totally neglect religious training. Respect for religion as a "good thing," if not as divine revelation, is evident from other questions as well. Few students, for instance, are willing to reject organized religion as "unwholesome and dangerous": at no college other than Reed (14 per cent) and Brandeis (16 per cent) do more than 4 per cent take such a position. Even among avowed atheists and agnostics, substantial numbers answer Yes to the question, "Do you regret that you feel compelled to reject religious views, and do you wish that it were possible for you somehow to recover religious faith, even though at the same time it appears impossible?" Few non-believers, on the other hand, have sufficient confidence in their outlook to proselytize in favor of atheism or agnosticism.

Moreover, the argument most frequently cited against "mixed" marriages between people of different religious backgrounds is "problems of children's religious education." There would seem to be a widespread conviction that religion represents an abstract "good" for other people, even if it has been rendered irrelevant to the students' own lives.

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55) Would you have any objections to the election as president of your college of a man who was:

1) Roman Catholic 2) Protestant 3) Jewish 4) an atheist or agnostic

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	9	12	9	2	10	6	8	4	8	50	4	4
2)			1	47	1	1		1			2	1
3)		15	5	50	7	9	20	4		46		6
4)	4	10	15	79	25	46	59	35		52	4	11

56) Below are several very brief, rough statements of various conceptions of the Deity. Check the one that most nearly approximates your views:

1) There is an immensely wise, omnipotent, three-person God Who created the universe and Who maintains an active concern for human affairs. 2) There is a God precisely as described in (1) except that He is absolutely One and in no sense possesses trinitarian nature. 3) I believe in a God about whom nothing definite can be affirmed except that I sometimes sense Him as a mighty "spiritual presence" permeating all mankind and nature. 4) There is a vast, impersonal principle of order or natural uniformity working throughout the whole universe and which, though not conscious of mere human life, I choose to call "God." 5) Because of our ignorance in this matter, I see no adequate grounds for either affirming or denying the existence of God. 6) I reject all belief in anything that could reasonably be called "God" and regard every such notion as a fiction unworthy of worship. 7) Other

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	13	29	20	90	18	42	51	37		34	4	27
2)		6	2		7	6	3	4	8	6	5	4
3)	31	17	24	2	27	25	21	25	8	36	13	23
4)	22	12	16	2	19	9	7	13	8	8	23	13
5)	18	20	21		17	8	8	13	37	6	32	15
6)	4	6	7		1	3			22	6	10	6
7)	4	6	3		4	2	4	2	14	2	10	5

JUDAISM

57) You have stated that your religious background was Judaic. Do you at the present time consider yourself to be a Jew in any of the senses below:

1) that you profess Judaism as a religion, agreeing wholly or substantially with its beliefs and traditions. 2) that you tend to identify or associate with Jewish people more than Gentiles, regardless of the religious beliefs of the individuals involved, and therefore think of yourself as Jewish. 3) that you consider yourself Jewish only because you were born of parents who considered themselves Jewish, even if you have discarded Jewish ideas. 4) that you have interest in certain cultural features common to Jewish tradition (e.g., music, cuisine, literature). 5) other, please specify 6) I completely reject my Judaism.

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)		33	25		29	45	20	60	33		31	67
2)	33		18	33	28	21	40	30	22		29	
3)	22	16	25		20	11		10	33		25	10
4)			7	33	11	14	20	10	22		17	7
5)		16	7		3	2	20		22		3	3
6)					1							7

Zionism on the Campus

Few of the Jewish students tested look on the State of Israel as a racial and/or religious "homeland." The samplings of students who do so range from a tiny three per cent at Yale to 30 per cent at Howard, where there are few Jews. The percentage of Jewish students who regard Israel as a fatherland reaches only 17 per cent even at Brandeis. Although some Jewish students claim to have no more interest in Israel than in any other foreign country (the figure at Brandeis is 13 per cent), the largest numbers subscribe to the following statement of interest: "I am interested in Israel because of its Jewish inhabitants and folk traditions only." Insofar as a conception of a homeland pertains to religious Judaism, this attitude seems to conform to the general rejection of Judaism by Jewish students.

58) Indicate those aspects of Judaism which you accept:

1) one-person God 2) necessity for man to work out his own salvation without the aid of mediation by a God-become-man. 3) emphasis on ethical behavior in this world as the only way to do God's will. 4) specific commandments regarding every aspect of daily life. 5) belief that, although man commits sins during his lifetime, he is not born sinful. 6) Friday evening services. 7) I literally believe in the Biblical account of God speaking to Moses on Mount Sinai as an historical event which occurred as concretely as Lincoln's assassination; unless God had miraculously intervened, I believe the event could have been scientifically documented (e.g., by a camera or tape recorder).

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	33	33	44		72	66	60	20	44		51	67
2)	33	50	74	33	71	59	80	20	77		70	85
3)	33	50	63	66	50	69	20	40	44		72	82
4)	11	16	3		29	28	20	50				
5)	44	16	77	66	80	88	60	70	66		82	75
6)	33	50	29		35	64	60	60	44		27	64
7)					13	19	20	20			9	35

59) What is your interest in the State of Israel:

1) I have an interest in Israel as my "homeland" 2) I am interested in Israel because of its Jewish inhabitants and folk traditions only 3) My interest in Israel is no different from my interest in any country other than the United States

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	11		3		9	26	20	30	22		17	7
2)	22	33	51	33	47	40	60	60	44		60	67
3)	11	16	3		15	9	20	10	33		13	14

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Prayer and its Efficacy

Although only 58 per cent of students who believe in God believe that God "will sometime alter the natural course of events to answer a prayer," well over 80 per cent of these students pray! Only 13 per cent of all student "believers" never pray, although many more pray "only at specific crisis in . . . life." The numerical disparity between students who intellectually affirm the efficacy of prayer and students who actually pray is striking at all schools in the poll. Even at Reed, where only 7 per cent of the "believers" regard prayer as efficacious, 63 per cent pray, including 42 per cent "several times a week" or more! This is one of many striking theological inconsistencies found in the survey, all tending to indicate the existence of a large number of students who want to believe in an ethically and existentially meaningful God, and cannot.

NATURE OF BELIEF

60-71) You have indicated belief in a Divine Presence. With which of the following propositions do you find yourself in accord:

60) I believe that God is all powerful 61) I believe that God will sometimes alter what would otherwise be the natural course of events to answer a prayer 62) I believe that the existence of God can be proven in a way that will elicit the assent of rational persons 63) I believe that the only way to know God is through an individual experience of His power or His love 64) I believe that undeserved suffering occurs in the world 65) I believe that correct ethical principles are grounded on religious belief and that a genuine knowledge of man's moral obligations necessarily involves a belief in God 66) I believe that God is just 67) There has been a time in my life when my religious views could fairly have been called agnostic or atheistic 68) I believe that every human being inevitably becomes involved in sin and cannot attain salvation without God's intercession, even though man does not merit it 69) I believe that the idea of Hell is a true one in the sense that God will send some people to an eternity of pain if He sees fit 70) I regard active connection with a church or synagogue as essential to my religious life 71) I believe that God is benevolent and feels toward man much as a loving father toward his children

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
60)	50	64	60	97	62	82	89	79	57	81	41	67
61)	37	47	37	81	45	64	75	56	14	52	28	46
62)	18	21	23	89	41	43	53	46	7	27	17	25
63)	56	47	58	15	43	53	53	63	50	65	46	53
64)	68	95	83	49	79	76	78	65	78	86	69	74
65)		33	25	82	44	56	63	58	28	36	10	32
66)	37	71	64	97	66	82	85	75	64	70	43	70
67)	62	57	65	10	55	43	33	42	71	54	56	46
68)	25	50	43	85	38	66	78	61	14	70	12	49
69)	6	26	25	90	26	50	54	40	14	31	7	31
70)	37	28	31	93	35	52	56	46	35	43	28	39
71)	37	59	55	97	55	75	85	76	64	61	28	62

72) Do you attend religious services:

1) once a week 2) twice a month 3) monthly 4) several times a year 5) twice a year 6) not at all

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	25	33	25	93	26	43	43	42	21	70	15	30
2)	6	42	10	2	8	16	21	12		15	7	19
3)	6	11	10		5	10	13	9	7	2	2	7
4)	37	11	31	2	29	18	15	21	21	9	30	22
5)	6		13		17	5	1	3	14		15	5
6)	18		8		11	3	2	7	35		17	9

73) How often, outside of religious services, do you pray to God:

1) daily 2) several times a week 3) only at specific crises in your life 4) not at all

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	12	26	16	74	26	34	40	47	7	27	12	20
2)	18	26	28	15	19	25	31	19	35	22	7	21
3)	25	31	28	7	29	24	17	19	21	36	25	31
4)	43	11	20		19	12	6	8	28	11	41	19

74) Do you consider atheists or agnostics:

1) less likely than believers to hold ethical opinions with which you can agree 2) just as likely as believers to hold ethical opinions which you can agree 3) less likely than believers to do the morally right or kind thing 4) more likely than believers to do the morally right or kind thing 5) just as likely as believers to do the morally right or kind thing

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1)	12	28	31	75	21	37	47	27	7	29	2	36
2)	68	64	58	19	63	50	36	50	71	56	71	51
3)	12	19	17	58	16	32	44	14	7	34	2	30
4)					2			2	7	2	2	4
5)	75	69	66	25	62	51	43	61	71	52	76	50

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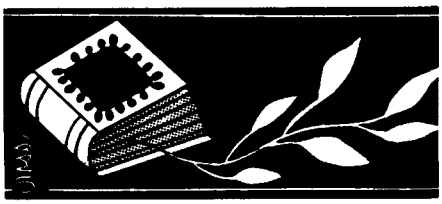


CHRISTIANITY

75) Indicate those aspects of Christianity which you accept (to be answered only by those who profess belief in some form of Christianity, including liberalized Protestants:

1) The idea of God becoming flesh 2) missionary activity 3) emphasis on theologizing from the time of the Church Fathers to the present 4) I believe that the Apostle's Creed is literally true 5) In the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus is reported to have said: Resist not evil . . . Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you . . ." (Matthew 5:39-44). Do you believe that a Christian must be a pacifist? 6) I believe literally in the Gospel account of Jesus' resurrection as an historical event which occurred as concretely as Lincoln's assassination; unless God had miraculously intervened, I believe the event could have been scientifically documented (by a camera placed outside the tomb).

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
1)	30	45	35	94	50	55	67	51	25	50	33	48
2)	60	65	54	96	72	74	86	72	37	72	33	64
3)	30	47	37	84	47	48	48	45	37	52	33	36
4)	30	27	7	11	14	11	56	53	12	18	33	28
5)		22	7	11	14	11	18	24	25	9	16	11
6)	30	25	28	81	39	51	55	38		20	16	39

THE NON-BELIEVERS

76) You have indicated disbelief in or ignorance of the existence of a Divine Presence. Which of the following factors do you consider as having contributed most to your present attitude toward religion:

1) philosophical considerations, such as logical refutations of theoretical proofs of the existence of God 2) the irreconcilability of literal interpretations of the Bible with certain established truths, such as the Copernican or Darwinian theories 3) the fact that contemporary science does not appear to require the concept of God to account satisfactorily for natural phenomena 4) parental influence 5) rebellion against parental influence 6) simple indifference (the idea of God doesn't affect my life in any way) 7) the existence of undeserved pain and suffering in the world 8) hypocrisy in the church and immoral behavior among believers 9) specific doctrines of your former religion

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
1)	66	62	52	8	46	52	73	50	33	83	41	61
2)	50	37	23	25	28	32	52	50	23		17	25
3)	50	25	52	8	41	40	36	53	57	50	65	68
4)	33	6	11		8	8	5		23		27	6
5)			1		2	5	5	10		16	3	3
6)	33	43	25		25	8		17	28	50	37	26
7)		25	23		21	15	42	25	9		20	23
8)		25	13	16	20	14	47	53	9		24	17
9)		6	7		3	2		10	4	16		9

77) In comparison with yourself and most of those who share your religious views, do you tend to think of those who are not atheists or agnostics as:

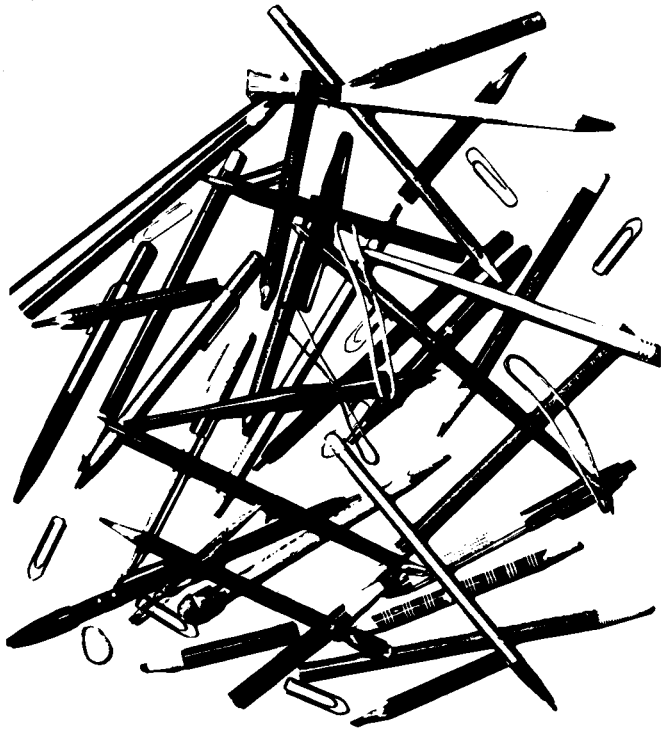
1) less intelligent on the average 2) less well-educated on the average 3) less likely to hold ethical opinions with which you can agree 4) less likely to do the morally right or kind thing 5) more likely to do the morally right or kind thing

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
1)	33	43	22	8	9	21	15	10	14	33	27	19
2)			16	8	4	11	36	7	33	50	41	23
3)	16	25	14		22	16	31	28	33	33	31	29
4)		6	3		1	4	10	7	4		6	6
5)			3		6	1	5	10			13	7

78-82) Indicate affirmative response only:

78) Do you think that the content of your ethical views changed from what they had previously been because you became an atheist or agnostic 79) Do you think your atheism or agnosticism has weakened your ethical ideas and made you take moral argument less seriously than do believers 80) Would it be fair to say that the opposite has occurred: that your moral concern has grown more intense in the absence of any assurance of God's existence or of an after-life 81) Do you regret that you feel compelled to reject religious views, and do you often wish that it were possible for you somehow to recover religious faith, even though at the same time it appears impossible 82) Do you feel obliged by your atheism or agnosticism to enlighten others by persuading them to abandon their faith

	SL	Wms	Yale	Marq	BU	Ind	SC	Hwd	Reed	Dav	Bran	Stan
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
78)		43	19		12	21	15	32	14	33	3	29
79)	16	25	16		7	7	5	14	14		6	20
80)	16	25	37	16	41	29	57	60	47	16	27	41
81)		31	43	8	30	23	68	35	28	33	24	34
82)	16	12	10	8	6	14	21	3	4		3	14



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The Educational Reviewer

Box 3070 ◆ Grand Central Station ◆ New York, N. Y.

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Special Report on NSA

Fiasco at Bloomington

WILLIAM C. WOOLDRIDGE

The Sixteenth Congress of the National Student Association will long be remembered for its consistent, unswerving ineptitude. Assembled in Bloomington, Ind., Aug. 18-29, the students of America were not really interested in what was going on. Estimates of the number who actually listened to the proceedings varied from 5 to 15 per cent. Delegates devoted their time to knitting, reading and talking, preferred folk-singing at night to attendance in the morning. A high Association officer publicly called it the most irresponsible Congress he had seen and wondered aloud "whether any policy passed by this body has any meaning at all."

It would be gratifying to attribute the Congress' deterioration to the withdrawal of so many conservative campuses in the last year. The thesis would be that without the stabilizing leaven of a sizable conservative bloc the Congress ran completely amuck. Certainly there were few enough conservatives there—perhaps fifteen to twenty-five out of some four hundred delegates—and the quality of debate suffered accordingly.

More likely, however, the Bloomington fiasco was the inevitable result of the Left's attempt to turn NSA into a sounding board for completely unrepresentative political opinions. Chief organ of the militant Left was the *Liberal Bulletin*, published by Students for a Democratic Society. A typical Liberal effort, strong on emotional appeals (it has no headline with less than three exclamation marks), the *Bulletin* called the desire for "more facts" indicative of a "dangerous, self-defeating, and unbecoming mentality all too pervasive at this Congress." Damn the uncertainties; full speed ahead!

In the face of well-financed, well-organized Liberal pressures, responsible student leaders occasionally showed a respectful deference to the resurgent Right. Yielding to YAF's criticism of its disproportionate share in policy formulation, the National Executive Committee abolished itself in its pre-Congress meeting. An avowed Goldwater-for-President backer came within one vote of being elected chairman of the NSA Campus Coordinators organization.

Not So Radical

On the criterion of legislation actually passed, this Congress was not nearly so radical as some of its predecessors. Hidden away in one new Basic Policy Declaration is a cautious reference to national security. An amendment condemning Cuba for violations of academic freedom succeeded on the grounds that as long as we had already condemned a good deal of the rest of South America, we could afford to add Cuba and hope nobody noticed our capitulation to jingoism. An exhortation to avoid discriminating against dictators on the basis of race temporarily stirred the lethargic delegates, but not deeply enough to induce them to include refugees from Ghana among the beneficiaries of an African scholarship fund. Even an effort to censure Congress for inaction in civil rights went down to the inglorious defeat it deserved. Moreover, the officers of the Association, of all people, apparently having realized that the conservative revival is worse than just a bad dream, led in the fight to block the more obnoxious legislation in the sure knowledge that such bills would only alienate most college students. Liberal frustration was summarized by this desperate verse printed over the picture of a sleeping delegate:

Hey diddle diddle
The radical middle
The Right fights its fights all aglow.
The delegates laugh
But where is the staff?
And who runs away with the show?

Danny Boggs, chairman of the Harvard delegation, successfully organized conservative opposition to several resolutions and at the same time shepherded to safety bills he favored. In one fast day's work Boggs and his lieutenants, often aided by the staff, killed measures which would 1) finance six SNCC field secretaries, 2) oppose the McCarran Act, 3) sympathize with the far-left student organization Advance, and 4) deplore underground testing. At the same time other objectionable items were placed unfathomably low on the agenda. Howls of rage went up from the *Liberal Bulletin;* it postulated a conspiracy on the Right which would have done credit to some of C. Wright Mills' more phantasmagoric creations. Actually, what happened was the outcome of the staff's growing comprehension of the need to avoid left-wing positions, plus Boggs' masterful leadership.

The real conservative hero, however, was Tony Rapolla of Rutgers. Rapolla had been instrumental in Rutgers' withdrawal from the Association, but with Mephistophelean cunning he arranged for the disaffiliation to take effect *after* the Sixteenth Congress. Keeping up a constant fire of telling remarks ("We're all a bunch of fools—idealistic fools"), he achieved his greatest coup on a motion to have a minute of silence and the Pledge of Allegiance precede each session. Despite the attempt of left-wing delegates to turn the proposal into a joke, it passed 151-150 after several votes. More people listened when Rapolla stood up than when the chair spoke, a fact from which one can draw any number of worthwhile inferences.

This was the spectacle of Bloomington: a Congress disastrously disoriented by the militant Left's unabashed attempts to inject political issues into the debates, uncomprehendingly and almost involuntarily influenced by the national resurgence of conservatism, stubbornly discarding left-wing proposals which would have succeeded in the past, professing a confused Liberalism in many of its resolutions but occasionally yielding to the suggestions of a barely skeletal conservative organization. Finally, it has become apparent to the Association's leadership that NSA cannot continue to ignore the growing campus movement to the right. USNSA is no longer quite so blind to the threat of self-destruction, and the Left can expect to face increasingly rougher going at future Congresses.

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The Third World War

What Chance in Vietnam?

JAMES BURNHAM

Last winter (*NR*, Jan. 29) I wrote in these columns, amplifying comments I had made after visiting Southeast Asia in the spring of 1961, "We are losing another war, this time in Vietnam," and I summarized dispatches sent from North Vietnam by European observers: "They report that the Ho Chi-minh government is supremely confident of the outcome in the South. [The Communists] are in no great hurry—they fought the French for eight years, after all—but they think it may all be over in two years more."

Burnham

At that time the public news from South Vietnam was optimistic. The American training program was improving the quality of the native soldiers. The hill tribes, who enjoyed fighting the Viet Cong, were finally being armed. The strategic hamlet plan was moving along. Communist casualties were said to be running two-to-one over anti-Communist. New and more suitable equipment was being sent in. But these were details of secondary importance. The South Vietnam operation was being conducted as it continues to be conducted, within a strategic and political framework that makes anti-Communist success impossible.

The grotesque Buddhist-Diem-Kennedy circus of the past month is making more and more persons aware of the gloomy outlook. The search is on for a scapegoat and a formula. For the Kennedy Administration and its apologists, and for the Liberals and the Left everywhere, the scapegoat is made to order: President Ngo Dinh Diem, whose public image has been carefully groomed for the role by Communist propagandists, their collaborators and dupes, over the past several years. Anti-Communists and the Right substitute Mr. Kennedy.

It is preposterous to try to pile all the blame on Diem. Diem is the best that has been available in South Vietnam, and a damn sight better than we had any right to expect. What sort of political cretins can they be who think South Vietnam could be ruled like England or Switzerland? South Vietnam isn't even a nation, and not within ten light years of being a constitutional republic. It lives in the unceasing civil war it was born with. That Diem has kept his country from flying apart altogether is a remarkable achievement, to which President Kennedy paid his implicit tribute a fortnight ago when, after doing his best to wreck the Diem government, he publicly confessed there was nothing with which to replace it. He might advantageously have thought of that a couple of weeks sooner.

The President as Villain

But Mr. Kennedy's critics are also on shaky ground. The political and military deficiencies have a pre-Kennedy origin; and it is not at all clear that the critics would be ready to take the measures required to correct them.

What the essential difficulty boils down to is this: the South Vietnam civil war can be lost but not won in South Vietnam.

"It was American capitulation in Laos that convinced the Communists that victory was coming sooner [in South Vietnam] than scheduled," I noted last winter. "Full concentration on the South Vietnam operation became possible. The supply and communication route through Laos became secure. Communist morale was boosted at the same time that South Vietnamese morale was shaken: for why should anyone suppose that in the end Washington won't impose the same solution on Vietnam that it imposed on Laos?"

By now that last question has become still more obviously unanswerable. For why should anyone count on a U. S. fight to victory in Southeast Asia when the U. S., in its world policy, is well launched on a course of détente, negotiation and agreement with the major Communist power? Does anyone imagine that pictures of Harriman drinking toasts with Khrushchev, and President Kennedy signing the test-ban treaty, are a stimulating diet for South Vietnamese paratroops scheduled to drop on a Viet Cong concentration?

To Escalate or Not To

The restrictions, both quantitative and qualitative, on the military conduct of the war are a second sufficient reason why the war cannot be won. They follow from the axiom that we must prevent the conflict from either spreading or "escalating." To keep it from spreading, we are prohibited from action against the Laotian communication route or the North Vietnamese and South Chinese bases; and we may not summon allies—from Free China, Thailand, Australia—who might fight at our side. To keep the conflict from escalating, we must forbear using the advanced weapons—including chemical, biological and nuclear—that constitute our distinctive strength and advantage. That is: we fight the enemy on a relatively small scale, on his terrain and terms.

It is quite true that there are grave risks in spreading and escalating the war. There is no reason to believe that Mr. Kennedy's critics are more willing than Mr. Kennedy to run those risks. It then follows that we cannot win in the Vietnamese affair. In the end we will pull out, probably through the now standardized intermediary stage of a neutralist regime, with Ho Chi-minh perhaps joining. Psychological preparation for this "solution" is going forward.

Politically it is difficult for Mr. Kennedy to engineer the pullout: public opinion already has a predisposition to label him "appeaser." Liquidation of the unwon Korean War had to await Dwight Eisenhower; France's withdrawal from Algeria could only be managed when de Gaulle replaced the Third Republic. It will be in that ironic tradition if Barry Goldwater becomes President to supervise, as his first foreign policy act, the abandonment of Southeast Asia.

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Today, I Dominate Pugilism and Prosody; Tomorrow, Perhaps, the World

LAWRENCE M. FRIEDMAN

A tale unearthed in extracts from White House correspondence, 1963-1964

October 1, 1963

Dear Mr. Khrushchev:

I see that Chou En-lai has labeled you and your associates "freaks and monsters." Do you intend to take that sort of guff from him?

Very truly yours,
John F. Kennedy

October 1, 1963

Dear Mr. Chou:

I notice that Nikita Khrushchev referred to you and Mao Tse-tung as "madmen." Do you intend to take that sort of guff from him?

Very truly yours,
John F. Kennedy

October 2, 1963

Dear Mr. Clay:

Well, I did it.

Inasmuch as America's Cold War victories have of late been rather unsubstantial, I suppose some radical innovations are now in order. Your suggestion, which is surely the most outré of all I have received, is probably as good a starting point as any other.

But let me warn you, young man: with all due respect for your knowledge of pugilistic motivation, this scheme had damn well *better* work.

Very truly yours,
John F. Kennedy

October 11, 1963

Dear Nikita:

I don't blame you a bit for resenting the slanderous utterances of Chou En-lai and his ilk. These saber-rattling Stalinists have got to be taught a lesson once and for all. If you need military assistance, call on the Hot Line.

Cordially,
Jack Kennedy

OCTOBER 12, 1963

C CLAY SO FAR SO GOOD STOP HAVE HUNCH YOUR IDEA WILL SUCCEED STOP IN WHAT WAY CAN THE GOVERNMENT MOST SUITABLY REWARD YOU FOR YOUR PATRIOTISM AND DEVOTION TO COUNTRY

J F KENNEDY

October 18, 1963

Dear Chou:

Your hostile reaction to Khrushchev's ill-tempered diatribe is fully justified. Anyone who so callously betrays the proletariat must be dealt with severely; no question about it.

Kindly forward your order for missiles and bombers directly to Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara.

Cordially,
Jack Kennedy

November 1, 1963

Dear Senator ————:

You are hereby advised of the creation of a new Cabinet-level agency to be known as the Department of Split-Widening. The Hon. C. M. Clay, of Louisville, Ky., has been designated by this Administration as Secretary and chief executive officer of the Department.

Your prompt advice and consent will be appreciated.

Very truly yours,
John F. Kennedy

December 1, 1963

My dear Nikita:

I am most distressed to learn that China is apparently stronger than you realized. However, as you have so resolutely maintained, the forthcoming invasion must not be permitted to fail. Accordingly, I am rushing you additional heavy tanks and Sabrejets.

With all good wishes,
Jack

December 29, 1963

Dear old Dr. Heller:

I bet you never thought we'd reach a $650 billion GNP so soon, eh, Walter my lad? And did you notice General Munitions outproduce General Motors in the fourth quarter? I *knew* it would be worthwhile to get in on the ground floor of the new GM.

Regards to Mrs. H.,
J. F. Kennedy

January 15, 1964

My dear Chou:

Next week's shipment of Minuteman missiles will bring China up to at least equal strength with the Soviet traitors. With proper timing, your initial attack should succeed in crippling their vaunted nuclear offense.

With all good wishes,
Jack

February 15, 1964

Dean:

I have just read the text of Adlai Stevenson's address to the General Assembly. Do you realize the implications of his demand for peace through "mutual arms inspection under United Nations supervision"? What is our foreign policy coming to, anyhow? For God's sake, get Adlai out of there and put in a hawk if it isn't already too late.

J. F. K.

March 1, 1964

Dear Mr. Clay:

Enclosed you will find the text of the Khrushchev-Chou communiqué. Study it carefully, with particular emphasis upon such expressions as "reconciliation," "duped by Western imperialists," and "now stand united against the common enemy."

I hope you're satisfied with the results of your juvenile scheme. Report to me tomorrow morning, at which time we will try to devise a way out.

Very truly yours,
John F. Kennedy

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March 3, 1964

Bobby:

Tell J. Edgar to get out an All-Points Bulletin on Clay. I want action.

J. F. K.

March 12, 1964

Dear Mr. McNamara:

I realize that our nuclear defenses have suffered serious attrition during the past six months, but do the best you can. Our lives may depend on it. And for God's sake, tell Dean Rusk to get that warmonger out of the UN and put in Adlai Stevenson before it's too late.

Very truly yours,
John F. Kennedy

MARCH 21, 1964

J E HOOVER HEARD RUMOR OF CLAY'S FLIGHT TO MOSCOW AND REQUEST FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM STOP HOWEVER UNTIL WE HAVE CONCLUSIVE PROOF OF HIS WHEREABOUTS KEEP LOOKING FOR HIM

J F KENNEDY

April 11, 1964

Dear Mr. Khrushchev:

Do you mean to say that General de Gaulle had the monumental audacity to call me *that*? I'm certainly indebted to you for calling the outburst to my attention. After all, anyone who sees fit to spread such lies must be made to realize the error of his ways. With just a little military assistance. . . .

Death of a Poet

ANTHONY KERRIGAN

A young twentieth-century visionary is dead. He flung himself from the balcony of a mental home in the throes of chemo-therapy. That is, in the despond of a drug cure for his inacceptable aberrations. He was under treatment for addressing his poems to the Pope and for seeing the Devil. He mailed his poems also to Alexis, Patriarch of Russia, and he saw the Devil with disturbing frequency. In another age, he would have been the center of a cult, perhaps, or at least have been hailed for his powers of clairvoyance. But in this year of the Christian era he was diagnosed as "disturbed." He was busy compiling a book on the Hundred Forms of the Cross, and his collected poems, *Estuario* (Estuary), though dated 1961 had just been issued by the most recherché publisher of poetry in Spain. But his family, which is a high-ranking one in the past and present of the South American country where they have put down roots in the past few generations, responded to the pressure of well-wishers who never saw the Devil and handed their son over for treatment. The family, moreover, moves and works in diplomatic circles: it was not good diplomacy to be represented in the streets and taverns of Madrid and Palma de Mallorca by a disheveled, intense-eyed, garrulous young poet who danced a modern St. Vitus dance of revelation. He stopped young children on the roads and introduced them to the Devil: that is anathema in our day. He kept blessing drunkards (with an outspread wooden hand at the end of a long round handle, a form of Islamic charm and/or back-scratcher) in the Tinsel Coast bars of Mallorca: that was an intrusion on the dim privacy of the usurers who own the bars. He kept bringing his Invisible Companion into the studies of consecrated prose writers and publishers: that was a provocation to the consciences of the successful.

'Florid and Live'

Carlos, for that was his name, saw a special Devil. When he spoke English, which was frequent in the mixed circles to which he had access, he described him, in his peculiar choice of words, as being "Florid and Live" (and he wrote it like that, with initial capitals, in one brief note to me). He meant that he was not the shadow that other men had seen, not the black or grey presence who is usually the same size as the beholder and always speaks the same language. But rather a dynamic force, a bustling agitator, a mass leader with the charm of a candidate. (To me he once spoke of Claude Pepper, the umber politician from Florida, the friend of Roosevelt and Litvinoff and mesmerizer of the Florida cracker.) The Devil was a link between East and West. He was not only a Communist, but a Christian. He was a synthesis of Marx and Bakunin, of Freud and Jung, of Eliot and Pound, even of Nehru and Nixon. The Devil was at ease in the Kremlin, but also in the palace of Orthodox Metropolitan of Moscow. The Devil was seen at a birthday party given by the poet Robert Graves in Deya, Mallorca, and on the same island he was dining in the same *celler* restaurant at the same time as the Spanish Academician and novelist Camilo José Cela, in the international zone of El Terreno behind the new waterfront hotels. He was everywhere, in short, where men forgot he might be. He was "Florid and Live," and represented wine and love, but the surfeit of both. Besides being subtle and brilliant himself, the Devil was in men falling asleep at their work, or dreaming heavy dreams; men laboring in gargantuan digestive Olympiads, or caught in the dénouement of revenge dramas. Personally, he was the rare Devil with the red cheeks, wearing a Finnish cap of Astrakhan fur in the north, and Bermuda shorts in the south. Carlos did not believe that the Devil still used the grand medieval gestures, much as he appreciated, as a poet, those fine formal ways. He thought of him as Progress itself. He thought of him as building skyscrapers to blot out the countryside, and laying down asphalt parking lots where the trees had been felled. He was *au courant*, and he wrote editorials in the leading newspapers. Most of all, the Devil believed in the *rapprochement* of all "tendencies," in a secularized Ecumenical Congress of all views except differing or dissenting views. He wanted all people to be one and the same. For him, they were all the same already.

Carlos' views were inacceptable. Not only to the Devil, but to society, to the equanimous leveled society at home over a Martini in Madrid or Madras. Carlos was fastened with cathodes and anodes. His veins were set awash with amytal and pentathol. He was shocked and mocked, and he threw himself off a "rest-home" balcony. All he left behind was his peculiar vision of the Devil and a handful of poems.

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Letter from the Continent

The Western Mediterranean

E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

The Mediterranean is, in itself, a miracle. Nowhere else on the globe do we find an "intercontinental inland sea" comparable in size. For several thousand years it was the scene of a variety of cultural explosions, the last of which was the Italian Renaissance. At the very height of the Renaissance, Columbus discovered America. Now Europe looked West and the Atlantic Age was born. The Mediterranean found itself eclipsed and awakened to new life only in the years following the Second World War.

Kuehnelt-Leddihn

Sixteen nations with a total population of 228 million border the Mediterranean. The western and eastern basins of the Mediterranean have in common only the Islamic southern shore with its quite fictional unity of race: the Arabs. Actually, the Arabs form only a very thin racial and linguistic layer in the "Maghreb," which consists of Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. The population is actually Berber, the Western influence is French, and only in Morocco, which from an economic viewpoint has the best chances for a healthy development, is there a truly local culture.

The main problems of the Western Mediterranean today are political as well as economic. Economically the great awakening has taken place only on the northern, European shores. France, Italy, and Spain have made tremendous strides. Spaniards and Southern Italians, who had lagged behind until recently, are now rolling up their shirtsleeves. In both Spain and Southern Italy the material appetites of the average man had to be stimulated so that he would work hard and consistently.

In Italy, tourists with their luxury goods, advertisements in the papers, and motion pictures of the high life all acted as powerful incentives. Agrarian reform, the much debated work of the governmental *Cassa per il Mezzogiorno* in Southern Italy and, most of all, the willingness of North Italian entrepreneurs to move factories into cheaper labor areas, have contributed to this development in Southern Italy.

In Spain the situation was very different. Until the reshuffling of the cabinet and the ascendancy of the Opus Dei three years ago, the Franco government had fostered a regimented, planned economy with severe restrictions in all fields. The results were disastrous. But the transition to a free economy brought results quicker than its advocates ever had hoped. Spain is now trying desperately to bring its economy up to a level which should make it feasible to join the Common Market. The Spanish balance of payments is now in the black, gold reserves are increasing, and foreign currency is available for the purchase of heavy machinery.

A Foreign Work Force

In addition, Spanish, Italian, and Greek workers, now swarming all over Europe, are acquiring not only much-needed skills in German, French, Swiss, Belgian, and Dutch factories, they also are highly regarded as intelligent, reliable and quick-witted workers.

Some months ago a German enterprise had to release 350 workers because of automation. The *Betriebsräte* (workers' counsellors) were ordered by the management to select these from among the foreigners (mostly Spaniards and Greeks). Great was the management's amazement when informed that the counsellors had dismissed 280 German and only seventy foreign workers. "Why did you do that?" it inquired. "The foremen would not let the foreigners go," was the answer. "They value them so highly."

The contribution of the Mediterraneans to North European industry is very substantial, though it must be doubted whether they will stay in the North. In the evening hours you see them congregating around the railroad stations to talk with friends, to swap information, but above all to be near the spot which reminds them of the road home. In Switzerland almost one-fourth of the workers are foreign.

In the Maghreb

This rosy picture has no counterpart in the Maghreb. In Morocco, at least, we have in Hassan II an intelligent young monarch who has made the people forget that, as crown prince, he was a playboy. He knows how to deal with demagoguery, the Near East's great plague. Hassan recently visited Paris and Madrid knowing that it is in France and in Spain that the experts with Moroccan experience are to be found. At the moment there are probably more French in Morocco, where the nationalistic fever has subsided, than in Algeria. Tunisia too, under President Bourguiba (a staunch anti-Nasserite), is leaning toward the Common Market and there has recently been a marked influx of French teachers. The French language, as a cultural medium, is no doubt going to stay on in the Maghreb.

Algeria's future, though, remains an enigma. Ben Bella, who now calls the Evian Treaty merely a "scrap of paper," has developed into a ruthless dictator and has fallen out with a number of his former collaborators while steering a most uneasy course between Paris, Moscow, Peking, Washington, and Cairo. The idea of a Maghreb confederacy has been almost abandoned, relations between Algiers and either Rabat or Tunis having gone from bad to worse. The persecution of the *harkis,* Moslem auxiliaries in French service, still continues and the *pieds noirs* still leave the country for France—*and so do many Moslems.* In the interior, the FLN shows a tendency to break up into factions, and the supporters of Messali Hadj, once completely discounted as a force, are rearming. The economic situation is anything but rosy, unemployment is widespread, and only French (and American) aid keeps Algeria economically alive.

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

The Education of Presidents

Presidents do not read many books, theirs being no life of leisure. The quality of their imagination, and the depth of their knowledge, have been determined in earlier years, often before they entered upon practical politics. And with the crushing burden of responsibilities which the President of the United States carries nowadays, decisions of immense importance may be made upon assumptions that took hold upon a President's mind when he never fancied he would become the most powerful man in the world.

Kirk

Recently President Kennedy's staff made public a list of his favorite books. Interestingly, nearly all of these were about conservative leaders, or by conservatively-inclined writers, or both. They were sound books—with the conspicuous exception of the outpourings of Mr. Ian Fleming, notorious for his romances of sex and slaughter in which one James Bond is the hero.

Now detective stories were the favorite reading of Franklin Roosevelt and Dwight Eisenhower in their Presidential years—indeed, almost their only reading. It can be said for Mr. Kennedy that at least he seems to have looked into some important books once upon a time, unlike Roosevelt, Eisenhower, and many politicians of this era. But I doubt that President Roosevelt or President Eisenhower would have proclaimed unabashedly that Ian Fleming was his favorite man of letters. Roosevelt, though said to be a devotee of Mr. Upton Sinclair's Lanny Budd series, never confessed to a passion for the lubricity of Mr. James M. Cain. Eisenhower issued no imprimatur in favor of Mr. Mickey Spillane.

President Kennedy's literary New Frontier, nevertheless, is the sexy-nightmare world of James Bond. Our President has affirmed his preference most candidly. And Mr. Ian Fleming is not ungrateful.

"We need some more Jack Kennedys," Mr. Fleming has Bond pontificate, in perhaps the silliest and most nasty of his effusions, *The Spy Who Loves Me*. "It's all these old people about. They ought to hand the world over to younger people who haven't got the idea of war stuck in their subconscious. As if it were the only solution."

James Bond as pacifist and moralist is perhaps the most unlikely figure in all the potboiler pages of Fleming's sorry stuff. With some hundreds of fictional lives on his fictional conscience—if he had one—Bond does not seem wholly fitted for the role of evangel of sweet disarmament. And Ian Fleming, a worse writer than Cain and a smuttier pornographer than Spillane, seems insufficiently prepared to guide President Kennedy down the happy path to universal peace.

Bond vs. *Goody Two-Shoes*

Yet so far as Mr. Kennedy obeys the precepts of his most cherished romancer, he appears to fancy Ian Fleming as master of statecraft, rather than James Bond as exemplar of derring-do. Our glorious Administration's policies in Cuba and Laos might have been shaped by Little Goody Two-Shoes, and not by James Bond. When the Kennedy Administration employs Bond tactics, it is against such great and sinister pro-Western powers as Moise Tshombe. And on such occasions—unlike the habits of James Bond—we have to be sure that the odds are a hundred to one in our favor.

It has been a long downward road from the thrillers of Wilkie Collins to the thrillers of James Bond. Henry Adams wrote that the progress of the American Presidency from Washington to Grant had refuted Darwin's theory of evolution. Well, it has been a dreary trail from the libraries of Washington and Adams and Jefferson to the White House bedside table where the works of Ian Fleming repose. If our Chief Executive believes that Fleming is our principal modern master of the art of fiction, are we to be surprised at his feeble imagination in the political realm? The style is the man.

President Kennedy's favorite books, including the commendable biographies and historical works on his list, are all recent ones. It was otherwise with the early statesmen of this Republic: they read the King James Version, Plutarch, Cicero, Shakespeare, Milton, and writers on the law. Thus they judged and decided in historical perspective. They did not assume that the destinies of states are determined by a quick gun, on the one hand, or by pacific platitudes, on the other.

Once upon a time, we knew in this country an education for governors—even if attenuated from its original English form. Nowadays we have an education for technicians, and an education for pedants, and an education for sociability—but nothing near akin to what Sir Thomas Elyot describes in *The Boke Called the Governor*.

President Kennedy's Harvard years appear to have endowed him with an inordinate veneration of Harvard politician-professors—and an appreciation of the splendid talents of Mr. Ian Fleming. He is immersed in the evanescent moment; and to escape from the servitude to exigency (utterly bewildering and disheartening, it has no grasp of norms or of the procession of history), he turns to the cheap sensationalism of the Bond trash, where all perplexities are resolved by a bullet and an orgasm.

Andrew Johnson was an illiterate until he married. Theodore Roosevelt was one of the liveliest narrative writers in our literary history. Between these extremes, we have known Presidents of many books, and Presidents of few. But to our happy decade has it been reserved that a President should select for his leisure hours the product of the literary *voyeur* and the impossible swaggerer.

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'Image' Is All

M. STANTON EVANS

For months rumors have circulated concerning a study of the Kennedy Administration by Victor Lasky. The New Frontier, it was whispered, had taken steps to forestall publication, with the result that appearance of the volume was at first placed in doubt, and ultimately was delayed for many months. These days, neither author nor publisher is talking with regard to such reports; the book is out, and it is apparent that—whether the Kennedy regime did or did not try to suppress it—the President would have been a far happier man had Lasky never put pen to paper.

J.F.K.: The Man and The Myth is the first full-length criticism ever leveled at the Kennedy "image." Puzzling aspects of Kennedy's career have hitherto been discussed in occasional articles, to fade from memory in the press of events, or have reposed safely in the nether pages of otherwise flattering biographies. Drawing on these sources, plus a vast fund of additional research, Lasky has put all the pieces together for the first time, in a journalistic venture at once merciless and courageous. Merciless, because the author has no compunction about sleuthing up oddments of the Kennedy past over which others might discreetly have drawn the veil, or about piling blow upon sledgehammer blow until nothing is left of the cherished image but tousled mane and incandescent teeth. Courageous, because in an era when official wrath is vented on those who deviate but slightly from the prevailing orthodoxy, one can imagine the furies Mr. Lasky's painstaking exposure will arouse in the Presidential breast.

J.F.K.: The Man and The Myth, by Victor Lasky. Macmillan, $7.95

The gravamen of Lasky's argument is that John F. Kennedy does not really exist. That, on the practical level, the "Kennedy" conveyed to the public by the most relentless public-relations effort in political history is a figment, a synthetic being invented by the New Frontier equivalent of account executives and copy-writers. In the metaphysical sense, Lasky adds, "Kennedy" is equally unreal; when we peel away the surface trappings of family glamor and exalted utterance to discover what core of philosophy lies beneath, we find only a great emptiness. The tinseled wrapping is pure Madison Avenue, but what it conceals is just as implausible—a yawning void of ambition, unadorned by discernible convictions on any major political issue.

THESE ARE harsh judgments, but the evidence to support them—particularly from Kennedy's own statements and actions and from the testimony of those who know him best—is massive. The man literally seems to have no political philosophy, apparently choosing sides on issues solely according to their usefulness to him in courting popularity. His strategy is a simple one: to do whatever is necessary to convey the right impression to his constituency, at whatever cost to a previously held ideological position. As Lasky demonstrates, Kennedy has been on both sides of almost every conceivable subject: TVA, rural electrification, the fall of China, farm price supports, "civil rights," Cuba, economy in government, the national debt, federal aid to parochial schools, foreign aid, governmental encroachments on enterprise, Joe McCarthy, Richard Nixon, the ADA, domestic subversion. . . . It is a breathtaking list.

Nor has Kennedy, upon achieving the object of his desires, abandoned his effort to comprehend every issue by surrounding it. Since coming to office he has contradicted, by word or action, his previous positions on the "missile gap," nuclear testing, the B-70 superbomber, Cuba and the Cuban exiles, Laos, summit conferences, and racial integration of schools—to name only a few.

It should not be supposed that such reversals are the product of confusion in Kennedy's mind; others may be confused by his performance, but he is not. Both he and his friends acknowledge that he has no political philosophy ("I don't have an organized philosophy of life," he once said, and his biographer, James MacGregor Burns, paraphrases an apparently friendly critic who adds that Kennedy acts "in terms of the immediate situation rather than on general and deeply rooted principles, and hence operates in a moral vacuum"), and stress as though it were a virtue his famous "pragmatism." What is usually left unsaid is that pragmatism functions only in terms of some known objective, and that the sole objective with which Kennedy has clearly associated himself is the advancement of his own political fortunes. Thus, as Eleanor Roosevelt put it, our President "calculates the political effect of every move. . . ." And thus, if it is popular to be a McCarthyite in Boston circa 1950,

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Fall Book Number

The October 22 issue will be a special book number, including reviews and discussion by:

John Chamberlain on Mary McCarthy
Auberon Waugh on Muriel Spark's *The Girls of Slender Means*
Harry V. Jaffa on Michael Oakeshott's *Rationalism in Politics*
Francis Russell on Jessica Mitford's *The American Way of Death*

Kennedy is a McCarthyite; if it is popular to denounce McCarthyites in 1963, Kennedy denounces McCarthyites.

When separate constituencies cannot be appealed to individually, Kennedy tries to appeal to them simultaneously. Lasky identifies the characteristic speech pattern employed by Kennedy in attempting this remarkable feat, as follows: "Statement of one side of the case (a), followed by a statement of the other side of the case (b). Although the bridge from (a) to (b) is usually the word 'but,' other familiar locutions such as 'at the same time,' 'on the other hand' and 'however' also enable him to take a position and warn against it at the same time." There is nothing confused or accidental about any of this; the contradictions and ambiguities are all quite deliberate. Kennedy. Burns notes, "is about as casual as a cash register."

There is a great deal more in Lasky's book—too much more, in fact, to be summarized in the brief compass of a review. The author has left nothing out, and rehearses in detail the fascinating story of Joseph Kennedy's checkered business career, son Jack's race for Congress involving a false affidavit of registration, the mysterious allegation of a first Kennedy marriage, Kennedy's early fling at anti-Communism (replete with denunciation of F.D.R.), his Stakhanovite absenteeism in Congress, his deliberate exploitation of the Catholic issue (the book includes the famous "Bailey Report" written by Kennedy aide Theodore Sorensen, arguing that the "Catholic vote" could be delivered *en bloc*), the 1960 West Virginia primary and the dubious practices which brought Kennedy to victory there, the Presidential campaign against Nixon, and Kennedy's record in office to date.

This is a giant of a book which reads like a novel. It is a powerful antitoxin, for Liberals and conservatives alike, to the daily hosannas for Kennedy which pour forth from the mass-communications media.

The Multiple Man

GUY DAVENPORT

IN *A Vision,* that curiously beautiful folding together of Irish shrewdness and the occult buncombe of Madame Blavatsky's back rooms, William Butler Yeats identifies in a gallery of human types The Multiple Man, "also called the Hunchback." This is a man blasted by fate from the beginning and stamped with an inexplicable sign, goiter or clubfoot or conspicuous portwine stain. Like a Sicilian with the *mal occhio* who dries up a mother's milk or brings down chandeliers with his mere presence, or the albino who can divine water, the afflicted man in our midst is likely to become a mythological beast, commanding both fear and respect. Enigma or pariah, to assert himself normally he must penetrate humanity's childish and primitive interest in his deformity. Public hangman; the possessor of a grotesque Adam's apple; a man locked in a cellar all of his childhood and turned loose, with all the advantages of a moron, in a European city —these are the subjects of three new novels that look at the world through the eyes of the touched, the set-aside.

Marianne Hauser (Mrs. Frederic Kirchberger of Kirksville, Missouri) has taken the legend of Casper Hauser (no kin) for the theme of her third novel. "In the year 1828, on the second day of Pentecost," she notes in an Afterword, "there appeared from the shadows of Nuremberg's ancient town gate a figure darkly mysterious, and legendary, you might say, upon the very moment of his entrance. For although he was normally grown, a boy of sixteen perhaps, he yet had not learned to talk or walk properly, or hate or love, or tell the face of a stone from the face of his neighbor." *Prince Ishmael* chronicles in first-person narrative the brief awareness of this world that Casper Hauser sustained in his short life. As if reason and even sophistication were thrust upon an idiot, the mind of Casper had suddenly to absorb the ways of civilization. A professor undertakes to educate him; he memorizes the Muses, the planets, the Latin cases, until we realize that the contents of minds, of schoolrooms, of newspapers, are a glorious trash and that the discrimination of its parts, item by item, is an undertaking which we manage as badly perhaps, certainly as blindly, as Casper Hauser.

A man without a past soon acquires as many as suspicion and imagination can attach to him. That is why Herman Melville's confidence man supplies a conscious theme to *Prince Ishmael,* which—look at its title—bears other Melvillean tones. Casper Hauser became, in turn, all lost sons, a murdered prince, a noble savage, Adam just out of his paradise of innocence, *l'homme naturel* at last. He was collected by savants, lionized by society, denounced by the police, reported on by spies. Had he been raised in a cellar, in a cave? Was he a victim of amnesia, the falling sickness? Or was he a waif clowning his way through a fraud? What indeed, this remarkable novel asks, is man? Why should he, without identity or credentials, without a name or history, throw Europe into an uproar and stick in the imagination ever since?

With a richness and color wholly alien to the novel in America, Marianne Hauser constructs a myth close

Prince Ishmael, by Marianne Hauser. Stein and Day, $5.95

Cat and Mouse, by Günter Grass. Harcourt, $3.95

The Affable Hangman, by Ramon Sender. Las Americas, $4.00

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to music in its power to move the reader from one dazzling passage to the next:

> I heard the rain of the leaves falling, the horse chestnuts splitting and falling. The roofs of the town were swinging in nets of light, and in the glassy sky the migratory birds were rehearsing daily for their long journey south. The storks would fly as far as Egypt, [the professor] ex-

Random Notes

● MOVIES: Five million, five hundred thousand dollars paid for the screen rights, the SuperPanavision cameras, loaded with Technicolor film, have turned to the 1,086 costumes designed by Cecil Beaton and made by ninety-three seamstresses and costing $300,000, to Professor Higgins' four-story home in Wimpole Street (real brick, real oak, real Victorian wallpaper, and all built to roll away from itself wall by wall), to a reconstruction of the racetrack at Ascot; in short, to *My Fair Lady,* Warner Bros.' costliest movie and the most famous musical since *The Merry Widow* of 1904, and ranking in popularity with Offenbach's *Orpheus* (1860) and Strauss' *Die Fledermaus* (1870). Audrey Hepburn is Eliza; Rex Harrison, Higgins; Stanley Holloway, Alfred Doolittle; Wilfred Hyde-White, Colonel Pickering; Gladys Cooper, Mrs. Higgins; Jeremy Brett, Freddy Eynsford Hill. And the production is so elaborate that Publicity sends out such notices as, "Maureen O'Hara's brother, James, has been added to the cast, playing a costermonger." London exteriors will be scrubbed and polished by Warner Bros. . . . Bette Davis will play twins in *Dead Ringer.* Filming (by Ernest Haller) is to be with regular full-shutter opening, a stand-in, and taped playback. The lab puts the halves together. . . . Every once in a while, in between other things, Orson Welles dashes off to Spain or Mexico to film some more of his *Don Quixote.* This has gone on for four years now, and Quixote, the Mexican actor Francisco Riguéra, 75, has just confided to Sancho Panza, Akim Tamiroff, that he's seriously wondering if old age won't floor him before Welles can get the picture made. . . . At least there's no danger that Jacques Tati, who's been working on a *Quixote* longer than that, will finish first.

● TURNED DOWN: By Decca, the satiric phonograph record made by Peter Sellers, Anthony Newley, and Leslie Bricusse, "Fool Britannia," about the Scandale Profumo. "We are jealous," said Decca, "of our good name."

And when the London Rocker and Roller, Screaming Lord Sutch, stood in the by-election to replace John Profumo, he polled only 209 votes and had to forfeit his deposit. . . . So things are looking up.

● BOOKS: Ludwig Bieler's *Ireland: Harbinger of the Middle Ages* (Oxford, $12.50) is one of the beauties of this fall's publishing: excellent text and color plates. . . . Ezra Pound, who has just been awarded The American Academy of Poets Award ($5,000), will bring out, together with his protégée Marcella Spann, *Confucius to Cummings: An Anthology of Poetry* (for February, from New Directions, $6.75; paperback, $2.75). Intended for use in high schools and colleges. . . . New Directions is also issuing in December a new and corrected edition of Pound's *Cantos.* . . . And for October, *The Letters of Wyndham Lewis,* edited by W. K. Rose (New Directions, $8.50). . . . Daniel Cory's *Santayana: The Later Years,* an intimate portrait by a man who was with him when he died, with some 300 letters not hitherto published, will be brought out in October by George Braziller ($7.50). . . . From Her Majesty's Stationery Office (available through British Information Services, New York), *Art Nouveau and Alphonse Mucha,* with 35 pages of half-tone plates (Sarah Bernhardt posters among other things), $1.50.

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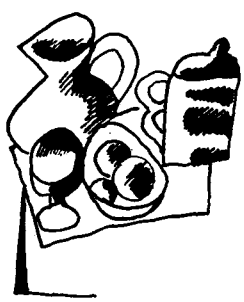
plained, touching briefly upon the pyramids and Joseph's dreams. Was that Joseph another police inspector? Ah, I had much to learn, my teacher found. This was my first autumn.

LAST YEAR, when Günter Grass' first novel *The Tin Drum* was translated, critics easily recognized a new genius in the novel, and a new kind of genius. Here was caricature, satire, wildest exaggeration in the service of a severe conscience. Europe at the mercy of the monsters of the thirties became an eternal three-year-old brat, insanely occupied with maintaining a private life while the world blew up and rained down again as glass and brick dust. He survived, eventually to fall before a citizen who shot him to gain the attention of the newspapers. This same drum-banging infant appears in one sentence of Mr. Grass's new novel, to identify the two books as treatments of the same theme.

In *Cat and Mouse* we see those who perished. The hero, a German adolescent named Mahlke, is a normal specimen of that generation Hitler made into the *Blonde Bestie* and set loose upon Europe like a plague of wolves, except that his Adam's apple is the size of a gourd. We are left to interpret this anomaly as we will. Adam, we remember, from legend, had no apple until the Fall, when a piece of the forbidden fruit stuck permanently in his and all his sons' gullet. Mahlke, student, athlete, clean-hearted comrade and well-endowed lover, sees the world as a contest in which the highest prize is the Iron Cross. Mr. Grass projects, with impressive beauty, Mahlke's adolescence, its games and agonies. Of Mahlke's experience in the war he is silent. We are shown only his return to a favorite hangout of childhood to commit suicide. This brief parable is all the more poignant for being told by a friend of Mahlke's who refuses to believe the suicide. Mice are teased by cats in one of nature's cruelest games before their necks are snapped. Who can say, Mr. Grass suggests in blackest irony, what part the mouse plays, and with what mind, and with what relief it welcomes the end?



RAMON SENDER, a Spanish novelist in exile, belongs to that darkly brilliant school of surrealism that includes Goya and, in our time, the director and cinema writer Luis Buñuel. His art is both super-realistic and ghostly nightmarish, an effect peculiarly Spanish, as in the inexplicably disturbing paintings of Velasquez, where nothing overtly terrible is evident, but where a cold perception of madness or strange perversity is everywhere. The novel begins with the hanging, or as the Spanish do it, the garroting of four criminals. The narrator, a reporter, invites the master hangman to a café (where but in Madrid will you find a café whose four walls are an aquarium of tropical fish?). Here the hangman begins his life's story—bastard, religious painter, anarchist, soldier for both sides in the Civil War, hangman. He is a Molinist, as best he can understand that tradition of quietest non-engagement with The World, and wishes to live "on the margin" of things. The novel is a detailed account of the way the world pulls from the margin to its center a man too sensitive to squash a fly. "I sometimes think," the hangman says in a letter to a mistress, "that there is only one man who lives the truth and who, furthermore, deserves the gratitude of all the rest and does not ask for it: the hangman. Upon his head rests all the social order known until today, and still the hangman, aware of it, offers himself as a propitious object for the scorn, fear, and moral repugnance of all. Here is the martyr and hero, and the man who can be a smiling hero and martyr, because he has found the truth."

GALLOWS IRONY, but with how many twists? And what truth? Ramon Sender does not say. The novel ends with a dream-like scene in which all Madrid comes with canopy and parade to honor their hangman, perhaps because he has been touched by fate as few men have, and like Casper Hauser without a past or a memory and like Mahlke with a sign written in his flesh, he was a man stamped with a seal which no one could read but which bore the authority of election and of the supernatural.

These three symbolic works indicate a return of the novel, the novel at its best, to the realm of allegory.

Speaking Up . . .

Frank S. Meyer, noted author and senior editor of National Review, will accept invitations now to lecture in the mid-west, and far-western part of the United States this fall.

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Adrift in the China Seas

THOMAS S. GEPHARDT

SUPPOSE, in the wake of Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor and her accompanying strikes into the Philippines, Indochina and the East Indies, that the United States had declared that all of the territory occupied by the Japanese was inviolable and that any countermoves on the part of the Western powers would simply aggravate world tensions. Suppose also that we had warned the Dutch, the British and the Australians not to attempt to recoup their territorial losses. Suppose further that we had dispatched our fleet to the Far Pacific to preserve the Japanese Empire from attack. And suppose finally that America's intellectual, academic and ecclesiastical elite had all but united in advocating Japan's early return to the League of Nations in the expectation that Japan could thereby be induced to shed her aggressive designs.

The Red China Lobby, by Robert Hunter and Forrest Davis. Fleet, $4.95

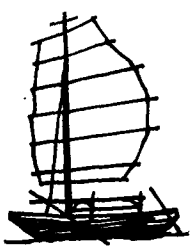
Incredible?

Not at all, say Robert Hunter and Forrest Davis. And they ask, "Is the policy favored by President Kennedy's advisers [with respect to Communist China today] any less fantastic and treacherous than this flight of fancy?"

The Red China Lobby is, in effect, the closing argument of two long-time students of U.S.-Chinese relations. Both authors died prior to their work's publication. But their death detracts nothing from the timeliness of their systematic examination of revisionism—the effort of a wide variety of well-placed Americans to reverse the Truman-Dulles policy against recognizing Communist China and against admitting the Peking government to the United Nations.

As something of a preface to their major theme, Mr. Davis and Mr. Hunter review U.S.-Chinese relations from 1844 to the present moment. In particular, they recreate with especial effectiveness the days in which the Institute for Pacific Relations worked with such doggedness to sell the American people on the twin notions that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his followers were hopelessly inept and corrupt and that the Communist Chinese were well-intentioned, George Washington-type "agrarian reformers." This is a story that deserves retelling every two or three years, especially in view of the return to eminence and influence of many of the old and bad actors in the IPR drama.

But even the IPR cult and its representations were paled by the framers of the celebrated "Cleveland Message," issued by the National Council of Churches in 1958. Closing their eyes to the unconscionable tortures and oppressions meted out to Christendom's missionaries in China, the Cleveland oracles called both for recognition and admission —"the most daring, bare-boned advocacy of the recognitionist position," say Messrs. Davis and Hunter, "put forth during the entire debate on the China policy." The authors proceed to analyze the Cleveland insistence that "recognition does not imply approval," along with the other arguments advanced by the proponents of recognition and admission.



MR. DAVIS AND MR. HUNTER do not stop with arguing down the revisionists. They also advocate a "liberation policy" in the Far East. Indeed, this is the main burden of their book. They believe, among other things, that overthrowing the Red government, with its long record of repressions and failures, would be far easier than anyone supposes. They propose a course of action, conse-

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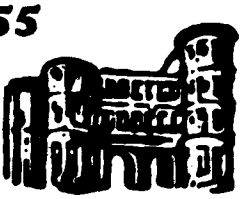

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quently, in which the U.S. Air Force would devastate Manchuria's industrial complex and drop arms to anti-Communist elements on the mainland; in which Nationalist troops would parachute into Western and Southeast China; in which South Korea would invade North Korea while Thailand invaded Laos. "Within a few months' time," they maintain, "Mao would seek refuge in Moscow, and the war of liberation would be over."

As a practical matter, Mr. Davis and Mr. Hunter see no likelihood that the Administration responsible for the Bay of Pigs would sponsor so bold a venture. They propose as an alternative that the United States simply look the other way while the Nationalists, the South Koreans, the Thais and their sturdy allies do the job alone. The crucial thing is that the job be done, that "we manfully 'grasp the nettle of danger' and destroy the power centers of world Communism."

This, says Admiral Radford in the book's Foreword, "is the most important mission in the world today." But who can imagine that the mission is one that will soon be undertaken? The answer lies in the ironic circumstance that *The Red China Lobby* made its appearance the very day on which the free world's statesmen were clamoring to sign the Treaty of Moscow.

Encyclopaedia of Misinformation

STEFAN T. POSSONY

THIS FAT VOLUME is alleged to be the first of a series of informational handbooks on all the countries of the world. "The articles in each volume will be written by experts who are nationals of and resident in the relevant country." Accordingly, pages 1 to 763 are supposedly a straight translation of the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia's Volume 50; pages 765 to 856 are a translation of the Soviet statistical handbook published in 1961.

Information U.S.S.R., edited and compiled by Robert Maxwell. Pergamon, $30.00

The book purports to provide accurate information about the geography, history, institutions, industry, science, culture, sports and peoples of the Soviet Union. "Many topical articles have been added and revisions made at each proof stage to ensure that all information is as up-to-date as possible." This statement is in contradiction to the assertion that the book, except for four appendices, is simply a translation of two Soviet reference works. There are no indications of the authorship of these revisions and additions, nor are the places where the text deviates from the original marked. Cursory checking suggests that there are no revisions of, or additions to, the original text except for the appendices, including a summary of the 1961 party program. The definition of Communism contained in that program is *not* reflected in this summary.

A volume containing well over one million words should present reasonably complete information, but the birth and death rates of the various republics and peoples inside the Soviet Union are not disclosed. The Soviet government has indeed failed to publish this information; but it would have been the editor's duty to note blatant omissions of this type. This particular gap is highly significant because it masks the national struggle within the Soviet "multinational state."

On page 278 a chart is presented purporting to show the growth of industrial production between 1913 and 1956. Heavy industry grew by 4349 per cent and all industry by 3021 per cent. The accuracy of these figures has been challenged even by Soviet economists. Naturally, a search for references to the Western discussion on Soviet growth rates is a waste of time.

Opening the historical chapters at random, we find on page 180 the Bolshevik uprising of July 1917 described as an attempt "to decide the question of power by peaceful means." The seizure of power by the Bolsheviks in November 1917 is related according to the Stalinist tradition: Trotsky apparently did not exist (page 238). Lenin's testament is referred to (page 198), but its content is not disclosed. Not a word is said about Lenin's break with Stalin. I looked diligently for a discussion of the purge trials, but those apparently never happened. There is reference (page 208) to the Nazi-Soviet pact of 1939, but not to the secret annexes which divided Eastern Europe between the Nazis and Communists.

The discussion of military doctrine is dated and does not reflect the new doctrine as announced several years ago; the reader would not suspect that the Soviets regard missiles with nuclear warheads as their decisive weapons. Since this more recent information was not included, for whatever reason, the claim that "all information is as up-to-date as possible" is mendacious.

To continue with the random sampling: Malenkov is named four times as a member of the anti-party group but the fact that he was Premier is not mentioned, not even in the chronological table. On page 254, figures are given on the strength of the Communist Party during the early period, but these figures contradict all reliable data. The returns of the 1917 election for the Constituent Assembly—the only reasonably honest election ever held in Russia—are omitted. The entry in the chronological table for September 17, 1939, when the Soviets invaded Poland, reads: "The Red Army comes to the defense of the life and property of the population of the Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia." You read correctly: "defense of . . . property."

However, not all the entries in this book are incorrect; this would be an impossible feat. The information for the guidance of firms wishing to trade with the USSR and the listing of Soviet "trade corporations" plus the goods and services which they are anxious to export, was provided by the Russo-British Chamber of Commerce. I am positive *this* information *is* accurate *and* up-to-date.

THERE IS, of course, no reason why Soviet reference books should not be translated. The impression is created however, that this book is a dependable source compilation and can be used with the same confidence as, say, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. The editor informs us: "Ignorance is the worst enemy of peace. By presenting in a handy format, essential basic information about the USSR, I

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hope to have made a contribution to peace and mutual cooperation. . . . The road to peace is through sympathetic understanding and confidence; these in turn proceed from knowledge. Only when we really know the Russians and they know us and we both understand and respect each other's philosophy of living will we have meaningful negotiations about disarmament or of any of the other cardinal problems of our times. This is the motivation behind *Information U.S.S.R.*"

THE FLY-LEAF describes the editor as born in Czechoslovakia; self-educated; a member of the Czech underground at sixteen and of the Czech army at seventeen; a soldier in the British Pioneer Corps; recipient of a decoration by Field-Marshal Montgomery; a linguist with nine languages; a father of eight children; a member of the German section of the British Foreign Office; a British Press officer in Germany; member of the British Trade delegation to China; and a publisher who during the past five years has traveled eight times to the Soviet Union and spends several months each year in the United States. In addition to this profusion of accomplishments, he was a Labor Party candidate during 1959 and will try again. But what was wrong with his old name? Did he adopt the *klichka* of "Maxwell" to improve his electoral chances? Yet persons with foreign names have been known to win in British elections, for example, stalwarts like Ignaz Trebitsch-Lincoln and Konni Zilliacus.

Does this venture pay for itself? Presumably, many university libraries will pay for this volume, and unfortunately the "information" will be used extensively in American classrooms. But frankly I remain unconvinced that the cost of this publication was advanced by a commercial publishing house, which would have to sell five to six thousand copies at the $30 price to break even. The fly-leaf acknowledges that the volume was "compiled with the assistance and cooperation of the editors of the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia, Moscow." How did they help? Did they assist the translator?

If "ignorance is the worst enemy of peace," then the publication of this volume will not contribute to the prevention of armed conflict. However, by spreading misinformation it will serve to increase the danger of war. If it is just naiveté, then the talented Mr. "Maxwell" certainly is over-endowed with political "untalent."

Records

Moussorgsky's Boris, Berlioz' Beatrice

RALPH DE TOLEDANO

THE RUSSIAN PSYCHE is such a complex commodity that frequently Russians fail to understand it. Writing in 1878, Tchaikovsky deplored Moussorgsky's "lack of polish" and accused him of composing "just as it comes to him." Though acknowledging genius, he could say "He has been too easily led away by the absurd theories of his set [the *Kutchka,* or "Five"] and the belief in his own genius. Besides which his nature is not of the finest quality, and he likes what is coarse, unpolished, and ugly." Tchaikovsky, looking to a velvet Paris, preferred Rimsky-Korsakov.

Today, the purists object because Moussorgsky's masterpiece, the opera *Boris Godounoff,* is heard in the resplendent reorchestration of Rimsky-Korsakov rather than in the massive, sometimes turgid, but always magnificent original. Rimsky-Korsakov was in some ways the Leopold Stokowski of his time, and he Westernized the intensely Russian harmonies of Moussorgsky. Yet he never made it "elegant"—and in his own way he clarified certain qualities in the overwhelmingly powerful opera which might have been lost in the composer's own orchestration. This may be because Moussorgsky was lazy and impatient, never bothering to seek perfection of expression.

I confess that I have never seen *Boris Godounoff,* but I have heard much of it on records. To be understood, it must be approached not as drama but as religious tragedy. In essence it is the liturgy of the "Third Rome"—and therefore it appeals to all that is Messianic in the Russians. Years ago, when the art of recording had not passed the Orthophonic stage, we could hear lone excerpts of the *Boris* sung in that quietly tragic voice of Chaliapin. Later, there was a fine performance of Alexander Kipnis—and for the first time the rich sound of the orchestra, like the clamor of bells across the vast square outside the Kremlin, could be heard.

Since then, there have been others who have sung *Boris,* and some were fine indeed. But for our time, I believe that the definitive Boris will be George London's. In fact, it is sometimes hard to tell whether London is Boris or vice versa. *Godounoff* is taxing music; it is tortured, pulsing with hope and faith, madness and tragedy. It is not King Lear crying for sight in Shakespeare's England but a barbaric hero crying out to his death and to his God.

All of this George London perceives. He understands the music he must transmit. He feels it, too, in a way which no Anglo-Saxon could—that is, viscerally. And he is blessed with an instrument of such power and dimension that it can rise with the music. In 1960, he sang *Boris* in Moscow to an audience which cheered him, gave him eight curtain calls, and then figuratively carried him through the streets. It was their music, but London was its celebrant.

Scenes from *Boris Godounoff* have been recorded by London for Columbia (ML 5673), with Thomas Schippers conducting the orchestra and Bliss Hebert directing the chorus. It is an excellent recording, both technically and artistically. And it will be interesting to compare it with the Russian version, in which London also sings Boris, recorded this summer in Moscow. The Soviets have yet to achieve the fidelity and balance of Western recording. But *Boris* is their own. Anyone who has ever walked through the Kremlin or tramped across Red Square will respond to a Russian reading. The magnificence of another day is gone, but under the revolutionary grime, the old flamboyant violence still lurks. The almost ritual suffering, the belief that this suffering is organic to Russia—these echo among the inner

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voices of *Boris*, and perhaps they will be heard in the forthcoming Moscow recording.

IF TCHAIKOWSKY failed to understand a Russian, the Italian Verdi showed more comprehension of the French Berlioz—perhaps because they were so dissimilar as artists and as people. In a letter to his close friend Oppradino Arrivabene, Verdi said: "Berlioz was a poor, sick man who raged at everyone, was bitter and malicious. He was greatly and subtly gifted [but] he always went to extremes, even when he was doing admirable things. . . . When he was alive they treated him miserably. Now he is dead: Hosanna."

The critics are slowly drifting back into this attitude, although it is still *très snob* to turn dramatically misty over certain passages of *L'Enfance du Christ*. Berlioz did tend to extremes, though far more in his criticism than in his music. There is one line in the duettino from his *Béatrice et Bénédict* which more accurately describes the Berlioz quality. He wrote of love as *"un feu-follet qui vient on ne sait d'où."* This is particularly true of those gentle choral passages in his operas and oratorios which are so touchingly lovely that they almost seem out of place. In the *Béatrice et Bénédict*, you are struck by this perception in the wedding music—passages far out of the reach of the rest of the score.

THIS OPERA, based on the *Much Ado About Nothing* of his hero Shakespeare, is certainly not the best to come from Berlioz. It is cleanly and adequately performed by the soloists and chorus of the London Symphony under Colin Davis (London, Éditions de L'Oiseau Lyre, OL 256/7). The Berlioz *aficionado* listens and enjoys, glad that one more composition has been put on record, and then suddenly comes alive when the *feu-follet* lights up. Berlioz believed that he was capturing the spirit of Shakespeare in his operatic revision of the play; but he was simply creating a series of set pieces, all with his musical imprint—and for me this is enough. That the conducting in this performance tends to the static emphasizes this quality of the music.

It is a long leap from Berlioz to Moussorgsky. But if music is the record of sadness, it will not trip the eclectic.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

NATIONAL LEADERSHIP AND FOREIGN POLICY: *A Case Study in the Mobilization of Public Support,* by James N. Rosenau (Princeton, $8.50). February 25, 1958, may have been one of the autumnal days of the Establishment in America, at least in its golden age. That was the festival day that saw 1500 eminent citizens shepherded into Washington's Hotel Statler for a twelve-and-a-half-hour revival meeting devoted to the glories of foreign aid. Beamed upon by Ike and Adlai, the gala had all the pomp and some of the circumstance of the *Cleopatra* premiere. What? You don't recall that great event? Let Professor Rosenau, and Science, show you its Significance. Seems the professor mailed out a 71-part questionnaire to the Liberal conferees and, after four breathless years of tabulating, discovered their views were Liberal. He has eighty tables to prove it.

N. MCCAFFREY

NEHRU SEIZES GOA, by Leo Lawrence (Pageant, $4.00). The *fait accompli* of a Sudetenland, or a Goa—the two are incredibly similar structurally—does not, in the passage of time, become morally eroded, but Mr. Lawrence's exhaustive historiosophy here lacks shock value. Shock may or may not be what's needed: where is the murmur of indignation over India's use, then and today, of the arms we sent her with which to battle Red China on the Kashmir border? The world was hardly struck dumb with shock over the seizure of Goa; but on Mr. Lawrence's convincing evidence, the world in its shock incorrectly marked Nehru as a hypocrite; in fact the designs of Nehru—and of Gandhi before him—were transparent from the beginning, when the Indian Union with loving arms gathered up and assimilated the independent principalities of the Subcontinent. Brutal Mr. Nehru is, but not hypocritical. The book is a deeply researched, and cogently partisan, indictment of Indian expansionism. It is, unfortunately, too finely ground, remaining, however, still readable.

T. J. WHEELER

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To the Editor

Civil Rights

"Civil Rights and Legal Wrongs," by James Jackson Kilpatrick [Sept. 24], is four-square with my thinking on this big controversy. As you may know, I have consistently supported the states' rights position on this racial question, being one of only a handful of northern Congressmen who have done so. I subscribe to any code that enables a person to earn his standing without obstacles or humiliation. But I am unwilling to vote for a bill which declares it unlawful for any person to choose his own company or customers.

If *NR* plans any reprints of this cogent article, I should like to apply for as many as can be spared.

BEN F. JENSEN (R., Iowa)
Washington, D.C.

Freedom, Virtue, Etc.

The return from Spain of L. Brent Bozell seems to have signaled a resumption and extension of the intramural debate on Freedom and Virtue which has consumed—and apparently will continue to consume—so many of NATIONAL REVIEW's valuable pages. Now that Mr. William Rickenbacker has entered the lists [Sept. 10], the polemic is triangular, and doubtless Mr. Frank Meyer will be heard from soon again. Then it will be Bozell's turn, and so on.

Meanwhile, may one loyal reader raise a question? What does all the Jesuitical logic so brilliantly displayed by the three NATIONAL REVIEW editors named above have to do with sinking the harpoon into Kennedy, stopping Rocky, and getting Goldwater elected? A sort of S. J. Perelman sense of unreality envelopes me when I discover FIVE pages of NATIONAL REVIEW occupied by "Freedom, Virtue, and the State" when so much remains to be said on other current and perhaps more intelligible topics.

Quite frankly, the Bozell-Meyer-Rickenbacker round robin is philosophically and metaphysically beyond me, and probably beyond a good many other NATIONAL REVIEW readers as well. Can't we cry Halt to the proceedings at this point and let the three philosophers argue it out at the coffee house next Tuesday afternoon? I can appreciate *cacoethes scribendi* and occasionally fall victim to it myself, but really, fellows, can't we set this particular issue aside until, say, November 1964?

Washington, D.C. TIRESIAS

Ah, Tiresias, when will you recover your eyesight? —ED.

From p. 194, Sept. 10: "The soul cannot be coerced." Maybe not, but wouldn't a murdered (thus coerced) soul become muted?

From p. 195: "The claims of freedom are prior to the claims of virtue in the political realm."

Not necessarily. Freedom can be used for or against you, for or against virtue. On the other hand, of course, virtue is a concept formed by education or misformed by miseducation. Thus, without freedom (from miseducation) one cannot form and possess any clear and wholesome concepts of virtue.

From p. 193: "Freedom consists in not being commanded."

Isn't it much better to say that freedom is the right to refuse? Doesn't "being commanded" become quite acceptable—if one has the right to refuse?

From p. 192: "The peculiar function of politics is to create a commonwealth whose institutions—one of which is the state—will reflect as nearly as possible the ideal values of truth, beauty and goodness, and so help instill them as real values in the consciousness of its citizens."

Stalin and Hitler's politics creating "ideal values of truth, beauty and goodness"?

Far, far better today than either freedom or virtue is the prosaic sounding "free competition."

What? Free competition better than "virtue"?

Yes, and whether anyone agrees or not doesn't matter. Because Nature (God's instrument) has only one rule: survival of the fittest to compete with all comers, which is achieved by means of free competition with which Nature breeds the best in *all* walks of life: politics, art, science, religion, and everything else. Either one promotes free competition, then one is rewarded by Nature, or one opposes free competition—then one is punished by Nature. And nothing can be done about it. One can not be anti-Nature and expect to be rewarded by Nature for it—can one?

Rotterdam, Holland S. D. ABRAMOFF

Yes, come to think of it. —ED.

Old Inaccurate Us

In your issue of August 27, in "The Week" column, you said: "Mr. Stanley Mosk, Attorney General of California, a couple of years ago called the John Birch Society a collection of 'little old ladies in tennis shoes.' Two weeks ago Mr. Mosk informed a convention of California Democrats that the GOP was in danger of being taken over by the

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John Birch Society. Some who heard him are wondering whether he got hit in the head by a tennis shoe, or whether he's just scared of little old ladies."

The *Los Angeles Times* of August 3, 1961 quoted Mr. Mosk as saying: "The cadre of the John Birch Society seems to be formed primarily of wealthy businessmen, retired military officers and little old ladies in tennis shoes." By taking part of what Mr. Mosk said out of context, you have done violence to the truth.

In your issue of July 2, 1963 you said editorially: "West Virginia Wesleyan College has a conservative in its economics department named Harold Hughes. Over a considerable period, Dr. Hughes was under pressure from the college authorities to change his presentation of the subject matter. It seems that Dr. Hughes is also something of an historian: whenever he presented socialistic concepts, he would go on to show where they had failed. On April 1 this year, Miles Stanley, state chairman of the AFL-CIO, wrote a letter to the college president scorching Dr. Hughes for teaching out-of-date economics. Two weeks later the popular and highly competent Dr. Hughes was fired."

Sic. President Martin's discharge of Dr. Hughes was supported by a statement issued by the local chapter of the American Association of University Professors, a statement issued by the Alumni Council, and a resolution of the West Virginia Conference of the Methodist Church (which operates the college).

Sic. Dr. Hughes had been notified that his employment was being terminated *several months before* the receipt of the letter from labor leader Miles Stanley. So, there is absolutely no causal relationship.

Sic. The Republican *Delta*, a weekly newspaper of Charleston, West Virginia, in its issue of August 8, 1963, reports a speech delivered by Dr. Hughes on August 7 before a Constitution Party group. The report reads in part: "Among other things, Hughes told the fifty people at the Rose City Cafeteria within the shadow of the Statehouse that President Kennedy is 'a faker and a fraud and a collectivist of the worst kind,' adding that the President is a 'tool of Communists.'" The story went on to say that Hughes advocated abolition of income tax, inheritance tax, social security, small business loans, medical care, and other welfare programs. He referred to the U.S. Supreme Court as the "Supreme Communist Court of the United States."

Elsinore, Calif. MORRIS KOMINSKY

Recent newspaper accounts of Stanford's position with respect to the Winds of Freedom Foundation have so completely distorted the facts that I think it is important to set the record straight. Unfortunately, NATIONAL REVIEW [June 4,] contributed its share to the confusion although, I must admit, not to the extent of the Bulletin of the American Civil Liberties Union which reported that two "multi-million dollar gifts" had been turned down because of the strings attached.

No gift was rejected because of the "strings attached." Two *offers* were rejected because it was proposed that a third party have the right, at a later date, to determine what strings to attach.

This point is important, as I think you will agree. If terms of the gift are clear, the Trustees can accept or reject the offer strictly on the basis of whether the gift will serve the objects and purposes of the University. Where such terms are not clear, or are reserved to a third party at a later date, no such decision can be made without surrendering Trustee responsibility and authority for affairs of the University.

Stanford, Calif. LYLE M. NELSON
University Relations

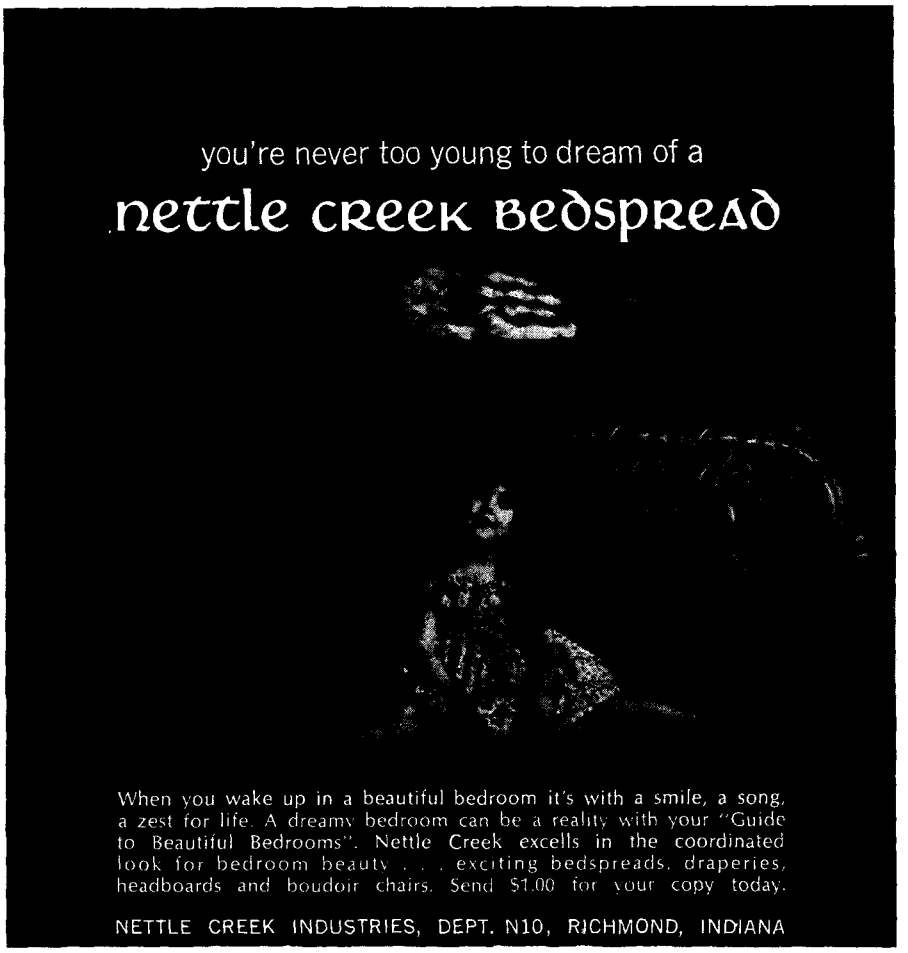
Where Indeed?

Mr. Burnham's article on the test-ban treaty [Aug. 13] was excellent, but seems to have missed the greatest danger inherent in the Treaty. If we note that the Executive Branch controls the detection system for nuclear explosions, it is at once apparent that although Russia may cheat, the Executive may say nothing at all about it. They might well keep the public in ignorance for as long as they wish, as in the case of the buildup in Cuba. Where are the safeguards against this kind of deception?

Huntington Valley, Pa. ERNEST R. RECHEL

Can't Believe It

Khrushchev was reading the funny papers. But he wasn't laughing. He was reading the Schulz comic strip *Peanuts*. Lucy is holding the football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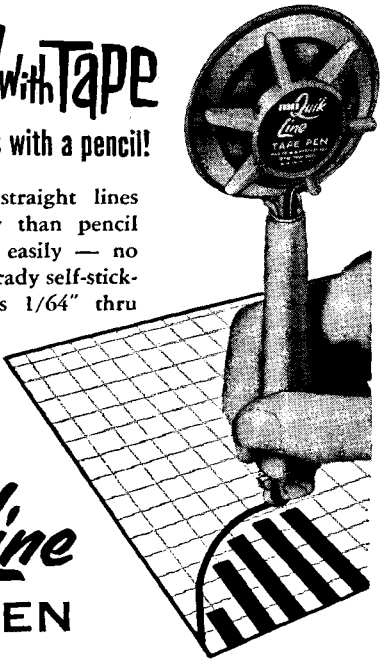

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and inviting Charlie Brown to kick it. Every year Lucy pulls the ball away at the last moment and Charlie Brown falls on his neck. Charlie Brown will not fall for it, not this time. "I can't believe," he says, "that anyone would think I was so completely stupid." But Lucy insists, and to prove her sincerity, offers a handshake. Charlie Brown gives in. He runs up to the ball, Lucy pulls it away, and Charlie lands on his neck —again. Lucy says, "A woman's handshake is not legally binding."

In due time, of course, another treaty will be broken. And Khrushchev will say, "A Communist handshake is not legally binding."

San Antonio, Tex. THOMAS F. QUINLIVAN

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1. Date of filing: September 27, 1963.
2. Title of publication: NATIONAL REVIEW.
3. Frequency of issue: Weekly.
4. Location of known office of publication: 163 Pratt St., Meriden, Connecticut 06453.
5. Location of the headquarters of general business offices of the publishers: 150 East 35th St., New York, N.Y., 10016.
6. Names and addresses of publisher, editor, and managing editor: Publisher, William A. Rusher, 150 East 35th St., New York, N.Y. 10016; Editor, Wm. F. Buckley Jr., 150 East 35th St., New York, N.Y. 10016; Managing Editor, Priscilla L. Buckley, 150 East 35th St., New York, N.Y. 10016.
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a) Total No. Copies Printed:	94,733	96,000
b) Paid Circulation		
1. To Term Subscribers by mail, carrier delivery or by other means:	54,038	54,848
2. Sales through agents, news dealers, or otherwise:	10,370	9,818
c) Free distribution (including samples) by mail, carrier delivery, or by other means:	1,200	1,142
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I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

(Signed) William A. Rusher
Publisher

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TOMORROW THE BULLFIGHT. TODAY THE MONTINA.

"You are blind," said the girl. The tailor looked at her, uncomprehending.

She swirled the muleta. "It is all wrong," the girl said. "The weight is wrong. The size is wrong. The color is wrong."

"You do not like it," the tailor said sadly.

"You are truly blind. What is this?" she asked, tapping her right foot.

"That, señorita?" The tailor looked down. "A shoe, señorita."

The girl threw her shoe at him. "Idiot," she said. She pointed with her aristocratic foot. "This. What is this?"

"Señorita, it is a floor." The tailor had absolutely no confidence in himself now.

"It is a floor of uncommonly good taste. Clearly it was not of your choosing."

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"The design of this Montina is remarkably fine," said the girl. "It is random. The chips are at random. Yet it is ordered, also. There is nature there, and art."

"The color is nice," said the tailor hopefully.

"No," said the girl, "the color is beautiful. You do not know the difference."

She rubbed the Montina Corlon floor gently with the sole of her stockinged foot.

"It has texture. I can feel it. Everything works together. The pattern, the color, the texture. Truly a remarkable floor. Get it for me today."

The tailor looked at her sadly. "Perhaps tomorrow, señorita?"

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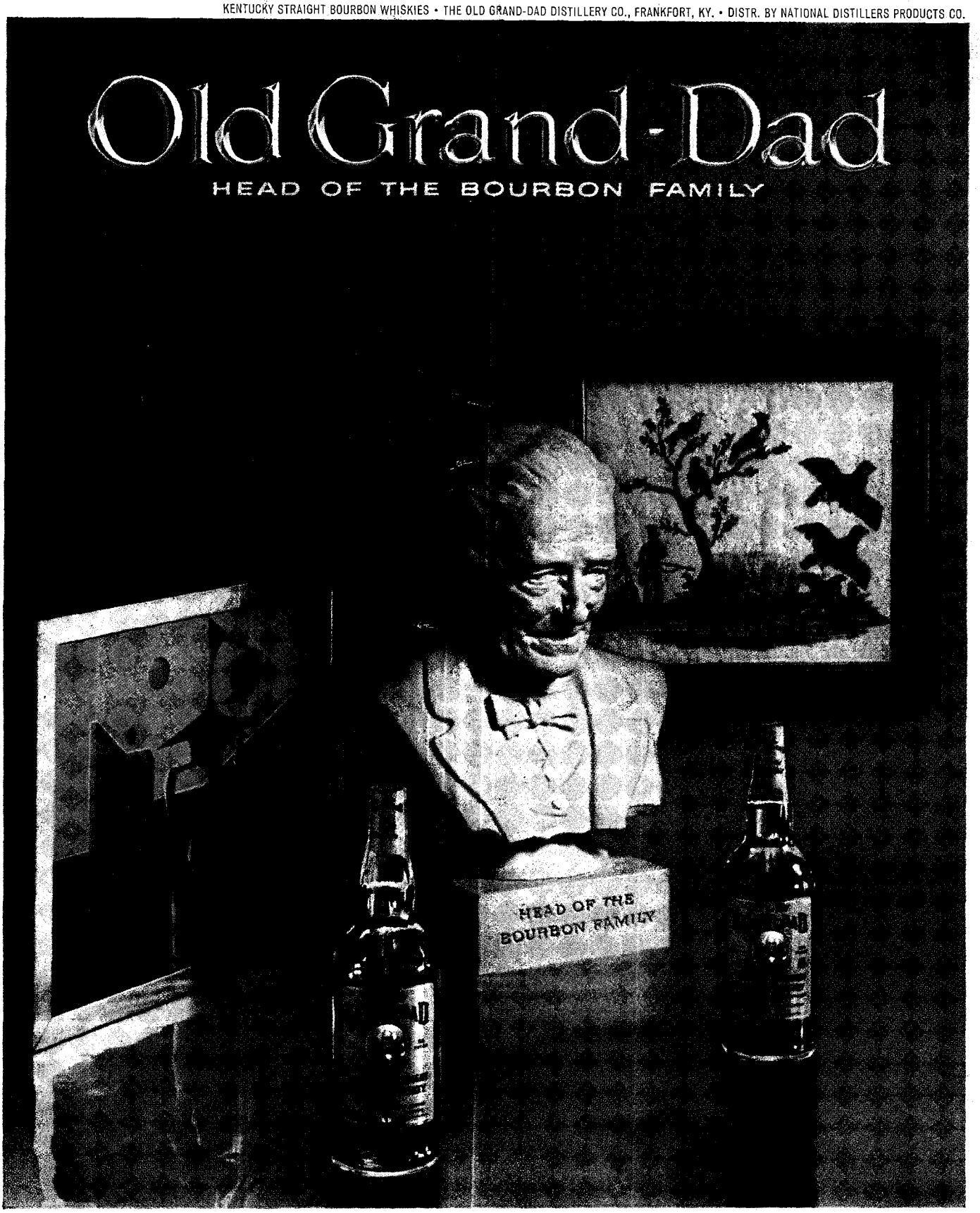

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